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DANVILLE REVIEW.

No. VIII.

DECEMBER, 1863.

ART. I.—*Shams and Presumptions of Physical Philosophy.*

WE hold in great respect and honor, all men of true science and true philosophy of whatever kind. Their value is inestimable, and their honor should be sacred in the eyes of all good men. Every encouragement should be given to them, and every obstacle possible, should be removed from their path. They should be made to feel that the world looks upon their laborious and persevering investigations with applause, because of the expectations of good. And they should feel that it is Christendom, and not heathendom or infidelity, that is their only true and reliable friend.

But while we say this, and say farther, that all true science and philosophy, like all true religion, are changeless and eternal, yet there are more shams and more empty pretensions put forth in these latter days, under the names of science and philosophy, than of any thing else. Knowing the weight which these deservedly have among men, the shallowest pretenders are everywhere flaunting their banners under the authority of these honorable names.

But men cheat themselves and others in the use which they make of these terms. It is apt to be presumed that men, claiming science as peculiarly their own, are all that they claim to be. That they have great breadth of learning, great variety of information, and great capacity for just and general reasonings. They are supposed to be clear and wide in their range of thought, exact in their perceptions of truth, and greatly enlightened and candid as to all inferences and deductions to be drawn from their own especial pursuits. But no

mistake is greater than this. Science, in its large and enlightened sense, is both modest and positive. Positive in all things clearly proved, and dubious and modest in all things yet unsettled. And as we are here writing especially for the benefit of our educated and educating young men, we have to say to them, that more numerous, or more splendid cheats are no where perpetrated, than under the supposed infallibilities of science.

We have not one word to say against men of very narrow learning, information and philosophy, who nevertheless are attempting to pick their way through the intricacies of some untried scientific path. As first visitors to the secrets of nature, and as discoverers on her domain, they may act their part well and profitably, but we know of no arrogance which is greater, and of no assumptions more contemptible, than when such men undertake, in the pride and feebleness of infidel science and philosophy, to overturn the foundations of Christianity. The very novelty of their knowledge, and the very limited amount of its objects, seem to qualify them for deciding great moral and historical matters entirely beyond the range of their knowledge or competence, and of which conduct, proper qualifications would make them utterly ashamed. How many have been the times, and how great has been the joy, and how long and loud the shout of triumph, when Christianity has been doomed to fall and perish beneath the consuming light of some new scientific discoveries? The troublesome existence of the Bible, and of all the annoying obligations which it imposes on man, was to pass away before the lavas of *Ætna*, the vastness of astronomy, the revealings of geology, the mysteries of mesmerism, the power of phrenology, the various types and origins of mankind, the revived and exterminating forces of pantheism, and so on to the end, if end there be to such premature and idle triumphs. Alas! for the fame of such achievements. The voice of the triumphal shout has scarcely passed away, and the victors scarcely sunk into peaceful repose, before it is found that the battle is not gained, but lost, and that another, and another Marengo game has been played against them. Time and truth have laughed their triumphs to scorn, and no weapon formed against them has beaten their ranks to powder with so much ease and power, as true

science and philosophy; and it is a bitter pill to be destroyed by one's own batteries. Allied with Christianity, they have entered the camp of the enemy and chased him from all the fancied bastions of strength, and left him to the mortification of the most ignominious defeat. Christianity has never gained prouder triumphs on any field than just here. And were it not for that supreme ignorance of the past, and that weak, but supreme confidence in the aspect of the present, infidel science would play off with the utmost shyness, against the risk of any more contests on this ground.

We are therefore not troubled in the least, when we hear of some great scientific discovery which is destined to destroy the foundations of our Christian faith. We can afford to be calm as a summer's morning. It is but the old tune played by new hands, and can deceive none but those who think the music new.

Three things may be said in regard to this whole matter. First, the truly great scientific men of the world, such as Bacon, Newton and Boyle, have seen and adored the Creator of those universal harmonies which exist between nature and revelation. They saw no opposition, but on the contrary, they saw what all intelligent minds see and feel, that they most beautifully illustrate and support each other. They are but necessary parts of one great whole; and they, who can see at all, can see that Christianity is the demand and supply of our moral nature, and furnishes besides, the widest, deepest, highest, and most various range of thought to the human soul. It discovers a vastness in variety and in magnitude in the universe, which is not an atheistic blank; it reveals mysteries which are not myths, and it breaks in upon the monotony of the soul with ten thousand additional beauties, sublimities, and glories. True philosophers know that Christianity is the great helper of all true science, and that both are equally of God, and can not be opposed to each other.

A second class of men, are those who may be called scientifically great, but who are without any proper knowledge of the Bible. Such a man was the Astronomer Halley. When he spoke disparagingly of the Bible in the presence of Newton, he rebuked him by telling him that he was willing to listen to him when he spoke of astronomy, because he had studied that

subject, but that he knew nothing of Christianity, and was not therefore qualified to give any opinion about it. Such men are one-sided and lop-sided, and just as their ignorance of Christianity is great, so are they dogmatic and bitter against it. But shall we waste our time upon such men, or shall our young men be bamboozled into unbelief by the ignorant pratings or writings of men who, though great in astronomy, or geology, or politics, or in any one science, are yet without a single qualification to render them teachers, and much less dictators, on the great subject of Christianity. A man may be a great statesman, great orator, or great any thing, and yet be the fool that hath said in his heart, there is no God. Such men may be good authority in their own science and on their own theatre of action, but no where else. Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles. We do not go to the statesman to learn astronomy, and we do not go to the astronomer to learn statesmanship; and why go to an unbeliever to learn what Christianity is or is not? Let our young men be guarded against a delusion so weak and so ignorant.

A third class of men are your two-penny scientifics and philosophers; soon ripe, soon rotten. Such men are made in six weeks, more or less; for in this great duration of time, they have cracked stone, picked pebbles, hunted up shells and fossils, arranged genus and species, decided the number of the great centres of population, the truth of equivocal generation, fumbled their hands over men's heads, proved Moses to be a humbug and all believers to be fools, with many other wonderful things.

These are the fast philosophers of the world. The ages have not beheld their equals. They decide on all subjects with telegraphic ease and celerity. In mental philosophy they far surpass Locke and Reed, Stuart and Brown and Hamilton. In physical or material philosophy, they have no patience with the slow march and cautious conclusions of past times. For Newton, Locke, Boyle and Milton, and men of their faith, they have an especial contempt. But for Gall, Spurzheim and Mesmer, and for all our modern Spinosas, and for all who have sense and genius enough to reject the Bible, they have the highest and most prodigious admiration.

Is it therefore any wonder that the world looks after such

prodigies of science, learning and philosophy, with reverence and amazement? In their rapid and splendid march to eminence, which others reach only by slow and toilsome degrees, is it any wonder that they should tread down Christianity, and leave it far in the rear of their gigantic progress? Great men do great things: and men of such amazing research, such depths in all philosophies, and such masters in logic, may well be expected to do things still greater and greater. They soon exhaust any one department of knowledge, and need not delay long upon the rationale of their conclusions.

But without irony, let us look at some of the philosophies which we are called upon to receive as sense and truth. Let our young men look at what they are called to receive as the high and pure logic of science. One of the distinguished naturalists of the times, Dr. Oken, says: "Phisio-philosophy has to show how the material took its origin, and therefore how something took its existence from nothing." He then goes on to state, that by "self-evolution," the planets, the flora, the fauna, and all the innumerable tribes and things of the organic and inorganic universe, have had their origin. This phisio-philosophy, is an affair of singular potentiality. Here it goes by the name of "Development theory." It does away with a personal God; but another God is set up under the terms natural law, natural forces, and self-evolution.

But let us look a little closely at these laws, forces, and self-evolutions, whose business it is to bring something from nothing. According to the radical and inexorable necessities of all enlightened thought, whenever any thing is spoken of as "evolved," the idea is unavoidable that it had an existence *before* its evolution, which utterly destroys the self-evolution theory. How can there be self-evolution when there is no self? How can there be evolution where there is nothing to evolve, or to be evolved? How can there be any thing developed from nothing to something, when the fundamental laws of thought and reason wholly reject it as a possibility. Human language absolutely refuses to express this atheistic idea. Evolution, or self-evolution is but the name of the action, in coming from nothing to something, and therefore does not convey any idea of origin. Language rebels, and exposes the extreme folly and weakness of all such theories

and theorists. Human language is constructed upon the deep and true philosophy which every where acknowledges a Great First Cause of all things, and it is a singularly beautiful instance of the depth and power of this abiding philosophy of human language, that it will not consent to express the blank atheism of any such theory, without such a recalcitration as scatters it to the four winds.

Nor is the logic or hope of success any better, when men talk of natural laws or natural forces, generating something from nothing. Natural laws are but the adjuncts of matter. They can not go before it, and can not exist without it. Attraction can have no existence without something to attract and be attracted. Matter and natural laws come into being at the same instant, and are equally the offspring of the same Almighty power.

But such are the wild babblings and blunderings, and such are the wild believings of lies, when a false and bewildered science attempts to remove the Creator from his own creation. Reason in such hands becomes blind and debilitated, and glories in its own shame. It stumbles along in darkness, and rejoices amid theories and beliefs, which it would dignify and honor to call frivolous and puerile inanities.

We do not wish, however, to say that the development theory, in all hands, is equally chargeable with atheism as in those of Dr. Oken. Others supply a creation, existing in nebulee, in fire, mist, or in whatever their fanciful philosophy may dictate. After this, the Creator retires afar off, and these philosophers enter, and go to work with their natural laws. With these, they rather slowly, but quite certainly, construct the astronomic universe. But their hardest and most perplexing task, seems to be the bringing forth life in all its forms out of dead matter. As those men, who saw all this, as it rose up gradually before them, and who have recorded it for the benefit of mankind, relate it, it seems that these laws went at their work in a somewhat awkward and unscientific way. They did not seem to know exactly what to do, or to have any definite designs on hand. After, however, considerable darkness and perplexity on the subject, electricity and albumen undertook the matter and found a point, a molecule, or monad, and in this was life. But whether it was any one kind of life,

in distinction from any other kind of life, does not seem to be known; but from these monads or points, all living things have sprung. That bit of life which was in that bit of matter, was in the course of ages developed into an ass, a horse, an elephant or a man. What was the original type of life in that monad from which man originally came, or how many and how various were the types through which he came, before he reached the estate of man, remains among the unrecorded things of this philosophy. That he has most honorably descended from a tadpole, in the earlier stages of his advance, and that in the latter stages thereof, he can trace a distinguished line of ancestral honors through the whole tribes of the monkey, is a distinction which nothing but excessive humility can prevent him from most highly appreciating. There is, however, a great gap between the monad and the tadpole, and between the tadpole and the monkey. Here, as in many other scientific things, we are left entirely to conjecture. Whether after the tadpole, came the toad and the terrapin, the snake and the snapping-turtle, and so on upwards, might be an offence to the science of development to decide. And although we would not upon any account be unscientific and unphilosophical in such a presence as in that of Dr. Oken, yet we are obliged to appear to be against his theory.

And, *First*, theories of science to be respectable must be respectable in their fundamental principles. They must not cross the track nor overthrow the eternal and changeless logic of the human mind.

Secondly, All science based upon what is merely hypothetical, and often extremely hypothetical too, ought to put on no dogmatic manners, and no airs of superiority and haughty contempt in view of truths long known, fairly tried, and dearly loved by large portions of the ablest and most honest of mankind. Especially has it proved dangerous to all men who have run their science and philosophy against the Bible. No science or philosophy ever formed against it has prospered or ever can. The Bible does not stop to even notice or count their existence, while they are soon shattered to pieces and remain as the broken and distorted shadows of the past.

Thirdly, If the first chapter of Genesis is untrue, and if all life, animal and vegetable, was slowly and laboriously devel-

oped along the ages and ages of time, why do we not see the same process of things in operation now? If the Development Theory be true, or any other theory which attributes life in its origin to the mere workings of natural laws, then we have the right to demand the same manifestations of the power of those laws now, as at any former time; and the failure to show this is the failure of all such hypotheses. If there be any thing certain in science, it is the uniform and changeless operations of the laws of nature. At the moment of creation they began their work, and from that instant to this they manifest no weariness, no change and no failure, precisely the same things which they did at the beginning they have been doing ever since and are doing now. It is the climax of silliness and the merest and weakest of all assumptions, to publish in the name of science such manifestations and such acts of the laws of nature as were never known, heard, or read of in the actual developments of time. The laws of nature are the great publishers of their own acts. And if they infused life into points of matter at first, why not now? Why is every type of life complete in itself, and why does not history record the natural development from the monad up through all the various types to that which is ultimate? Why do we not see that mixed condition of things around us which such theories would produce? And why, all over the world now and at all times, do we not see that fashion of life about which these theories are so instructive? Why does man come, and come only, from parents like himself? and why is this so with all animals.

We have been accustomed to look upon science as something sensible, cautious, and reliable, but we are compelled to say that her territory has not escaped invasion by the shallowest of all balderdash and the merest of all twaddle. The sad and exceeding folly of material science is its proneness to theory. If a man is a skeptic he must have a theory to agree with his skepticism, and if he be an ambitious man he loves the honor of overthrowing the Bible and of enlightening the world as no man ever did before. With prompt precipitation he assumes his new and distinguished position. He is a new and great discoverer, and his theory must be new and great to suit the magnitude of his expectations. But while this poor

man is enjoying his incongruous dreams, the stream of time sweeps on and carries his theory, or theories, into the gulf of oblivion, and men only mention his name in pity or in scorn. Can anything be more absurd than to call upon mankind to believe in great and innumerable historical facts which contradict our reason, and in testimony of which there is neither written history, nor observation, nor memory, nor science, nor philosophy, nor anything in all time and in all the world. We consider no forgery greater, and no shame more thorough, and no lying more injurious, than when done under the cover of infidel theories and perverted science.

But how beautiful and how sublime is the philosophy of Moses compared with this shallow atheistic phrenzy. There we see all nature coming forth in its completeness. Here is the Creator and the Creation, and the one worthy of the other. Here science and philosophy have a clear rational start. There is nothing bungling, nothing distorted, nothing ludicrous and unworthy of God. Without this starting point, all men who have touched upon the theories of creation have blundered and fallen like feebleness amid the dark and rough ways of night.

Another specimen of such philosophy is found in Le Comte. What he calls his positive philosophy began to be delivered in Paris in 1829 and was published in 1842 and 1843. Dr. Buchanan says of it, that it is "elaborated with singular ability." If this gentleman had satisfied himself in discussing the matters of natural philosophy with inductive rigidity, he would not have exposed himself to the charge of sentiments so absurd and so deleterious. But leaving his own appropriate field, he must have a theory on man, and here clouds and darkness settle down upon him. It would seem as if judicial blindness was the reward of such folly. Yet in the midst of a confusion, various and boundless, his confidence rises to the highest point of elevation. He has discovered a law which is to immortalize himself and flood the world with light.

Speaking of the human race, he says, "that law consists in this — that each one of our leading conceptions passes through three theoretic states: the state theological, or fictitious; the state metaphysical or abstract; and the state scientific or positive. In other words the human mind — mind of

the race — employs successively three methods of philosophizing whose character is essentially different and even radically opposed: first the theological method, then the metaphysical, and last of all the positive. Hence three systems of philosophy which mutually *exclude each other*. The first of these, the theological, is a necessary starting point of the human mind, the second, or metaphysical is merely provisional, while the third is the fixed ultimate state." And the supreme glory of the whole is, that it is to be pure, blank, eternal atheism. This is the millennium of the world, according to Le Comte. Of these three states, theological, metaphysical, and natural-philosophical, the world absolutely knows nothing at all, and in the audacity of mere assertion, it has no parallel except among authors of similar sentiment. These states are said to *mutually exclude each other*. They can not overlap or mingle together. The transition of the one to the other must be instant, and they must lie together like two straight edges. But what record, what memory, what knowledge embraces the evidences of any such states or any such changes? None, absolutely none; and what man, capable of knowing himself and of reading the nature of man in all history, does not see that this whole thing or theory is among the most bungling of shams, pretences, and assumptions?

The history of that exclusively theologic race, where is it? Where are its metes and its bounds? Where did it begin and where did it end? And so of the metaphysical race and state. What are its works and what its history — when and where did it begin, and when and where did it end? and outside of a few men, how much more extensive and powerful is the natural philosophy state and race now, than formerly? Taking the world in the mass, where is the evidence that it is less theological, or less metaphysical now than at any former period? Natural philosophy, or the positive is taking hold of men's minds a little more extensively at present than in times past, but if this is true, it is far more extensively true, that both the theological and metaphysical are doing the same. And if Dr. Oken and M. Le Comte will have us adopt their assertions, they must give us some little proof at least. We would like to have glimpses into the past beyond the generous assumptions of these gentlemen. We would

like, historically at least, to stand among the theologic race, and also to take a view of the metaphysic. We would like to see how the infant theologic race sprang up from the mucus of the sea, or from the microscopic atoms of the land, how electricity touched them off into life, which by many slow and ugly changes ultimated in sheep and horses, hogs and men.

But how does the face of the world, and the history of the race set this triplicate philosophy at naught? What but the befuddled brain of some philosopher could have dreamed this idle dream or could have thought of making it the foundation of everlasting fame? If this adventurous Frenchman, instead of expecting us to admit his boundless and silly assumptions, had attempted to give us the evidence upon which he based his theory, all honest minds would accept his lead to truth if any such thing could be found in any such region. But when such men expect us to receive things as history, which are point blank against all history, and to receive things in the name of philosophy, which true philosophy would not touch with the hem of her garment, and to embrace sentiments which are at endless war with the changeless nature of human reason, and above all, to call upon us to live joyfully in the certain expectation that the final and highest state of man is to be pure atheism, is a thing so monstrous in shape, so preposterous in logic, and so utterly gloomy and appalling in hope and morals, that our astonishment and contempt are pushed to the farthest verge of possibility by the demand. To blot out an all glorious and eternal God, whose Being sheds changeless and unutterable light upon all things dear and valuable to man, to sink him beneath the range of immortality, and to persuade him that in spite of all his capacities and attainments, and in spite of all his lookings into and his aspirations after another life, he must after all, die as the brute dies—and more than all, and worse than all, to attempt to infuse into us the faith that this is all and largely to our benefit, and that the doer of it deserves imperishable honor, is such an instance of insane devilishness as has indeed occurred in former times, but never under such lofty scientific and philosophical pretensions.

How this French philosopher could stand on the Gallic side of the channel and write such insane follies, without a sense

of rebuke from the mighty names of the dead and the living, on the other side, can only be accounted for upon the ground of moral torpor — the stupefaction of conscience and the flight of truth.

When we find such stuff as this floating among the philosophies of the day, and when we find every shape and fashion of error, physical, metaphysical and moral, putting itself under the advocacy and protection of science, it is almost sufficient, for the moment, to fill us with contempt for learning as a conspiracy against truth, and as a fraud upon mankind. Yet we well know how powerful an ally all true and unperverted learning is to all truth, but especially divine truth. True and large learning has nothing to do with these shallow theories and philosophies falsely so called.

The great central error of this spurious mode of philosophizing lies in what is called natural law. Natural law makes something out of nothing, and is therefore the Creator. It makes men and animals out of sea mucus, atoms, and albumen. It is a fine Delphic oracle. It has all the mystery necessary to furnish most ample scope and play for the wildest and most romantic imagination. It is endowed with an existence antecedent to all other existences, and with a power, a wisdom, and foresight equal to the production of all created things. This natural law is an independent self existence. Common minds and true reason would pronounce this impossible and absurd, but not so with these philosophers. Abstraction is all concrete with them. They can have law without a lawgiver. They can have law at work, without a law executioner. They can have white, without anything to be white. They can have attraction, gravitation, repulsion, and all manner of material affinities, before there is anything to be attracted, gravitated, repulsed, or held together by affinities of any kind. They can have the apple before the tree, the light before the sun, the child before the parent, and every other absurd thing which atheistic thinking may dictate. But such are the sheer inanities which are uttered in the name of science, and claim the attention of mankind upon the ground of their philosophical depth and truth. The radical and essential idea of all law, moral, political, or natural, is that of a preceding law giver. It is natural law, springing out of the

power of the supremelawgiver, which gives order, permanence, and security, to the works of nature, just as moral law gives order, beauty, and permanence to the conduct of men. Law, in the sense of natural philosophy, is but the manner in which nature operates. To talk about natural law as antecedent to and separate from matter, is like talking of disposition as antecedent to and separate from mind. Natural law and creation are contemporaneous. And there is nothing which casts a sneer so utterly annihilating upon these blundering follies of atheism as the true voice of natural philosophy. What but a bedlam philosophy ever dreamed of natural law existing before nature; of the laws of light before light, and the laws of life before life! Common sense, common observation, and the common philosophy of the human mind, rise up in contemptuous scorn of all such puerile and befuddled methods of thinking.

But we are ourselves glad, that the philosophy of all such errors should be as weak and preposterous as their tendencies are base and deleterious; and as man is no more a moral being, according to the teaching of these atheisms, but a mixture of the tadpole and terrapin, the gallinipper and hornet, the buzzard and the monkey, with how many other ingredients of animal life, hot or cold, fiery or sluggish, no one can tell: so mankind will no longer be at the cost or trouble of providing for the moral aspects and demands of our nature. The press, with all its appurtenances of Bibles and long list of moral appliances, may be pitched into the sea. Churches will vanish as the relics of barbarous times. The stone mason and the brick; the carpenter and the painter; the joiner and the glazier, will be discarded. Booksellers, and binders, and paper makers, and all the tribes and trades of men, whose means of living grows out of the Christian faith, will be dismissed; and as under the reign of atheism, there will be no faith or opinions of any kind worth fighting for; men may "hang their helmets in the hall and study war no more." The great flock-masters and iron-masters, who supply clothing and cold steel for armies, will have to find other outlets for their genius and their trades. Universities and colleges, and all the train of educational cost and appliances, will vanish away as the trumpery of the past, or the shadows of a dream. For who

will incur the cost or endure the labor of imparting learning, or who will undergo the drudgery of its reception, with the idea of a life within him, which lives to day, but dies to-morrow, and dies forever. We can conceive of nothing more besotting than atheism, and if the mind of man could be universally imbued with it, the world would become more thoroughly brutalized than time and sin have ever yet made it.

Let atheism enter the world by whatever avenue, and let it predominate over the minds of mankind, and the science of Bacon, and Newton, and Boyle; the poetry of Homer, and Virgil, and Milton; the prose of Addison, Johnson, and Steele; the oratory of Burke, and Fox, and Pitt, with all the mighty works of all the mighty men of ancient and modern renown, would go down in the universal wreck of oblivion. Atheism, of itself, has no motives to lift it above the sensualist and the beast.

But still, let us look at the ardent promises of the "fixed and ultimate state of atheism," which is the boast of M. Le-Comte. According to this gentleman, the light will then be so light, and the glory so glorious, that human eyes could not yet bear the effulgence of the one, nor human shoulders yet bear the weight of the other. The pods and husks of old learning will then be cast aside, with becoming scorn for all the past, and with highest admiration for all the present. Men and women will then be seen every where starting down to the sea-shore to study sea-alime and mucus, monads and microscopic points, and to demonstrate the great deeds of natural law, about which great men had written great things. To find out this great law, and to discover its actual whereabouts; to be able to point to it in its actual work, in its carefully secreted and curious laboratory, and to silence all doubt as to its actual existence and operations, will be the great achievement of that age of the positive philosophy, when the theological and metaphysical shall be no more. A captious philosophy might inquire where and how this great secret has been so long and so absolutely concealed from the world? when and where did it begin its first manipulations? Is the life which this law imparts in the sea which makes the mucus, or is it in the mucus itself after the sea has made it? Does it

begin in the monad, or in the nothing, out of which the monad is made?

But when these curious inquiries and learned investigations of things have found out the point into which life has been actually infused, how will they discover what life it is? Is it a life which is to ultimate in a gnat or an ox, a monkey or a horse, a man or an elephant, an alligator or a sea serpent? According to this very learned and sagacious philosophy, life appears to be among the most insignificant and undistinguishable of things in its origin. But as neither memory, nor tradition, nor history, nor science, nor philosophy, outside of theories, either virtually or actually atheistic, makes the slightest allusion to such an origin of things, we may be pardoned if we still doubt, until we reach the "fixed and ultimate state of atheism."

But possibly M. LeComte has not set his forces at work with sufficient industry and celerity. But this may soon be done by some adventurous disciple of the positive philosophy. To see all living things moving rapidly on their way up from mud, mucus, and mutton, through all their variations and delays, to the highest range of existence, will be a sight worth seeing and altogether worthy of the scientific afflatus of M. LeComte.

In that period, no doubt the origin of nations will be determined; the numbers of Adams and centres of populations, and the materials from which they have all sprung. The Irish possibly, from fine mist, piperin, and alcohol; the English from salamanders, metal-ores, and sea water; the Germans from sea-marsh, sour krout, and phosphorus; the French from sulphur, mercury, and saltpetre, and the Americans from a liberal dash of the whole in one. But as "universal atheism" has not yet authoritatively decided this matter, it would not be suitably modest in us to do so.

But in all seriousness, we would say to our thinking young men, that just here, and amid the apparent showings of science, lies the very densest regions of shams, and these shams are all the more dangerous from their scientific pretensions. But all truth is one and harmonious. The Bible and science can not contradict each other, and all supposed facts and discoveries in science, which are either atheistic or anti-biblical, or both,

are destined to an ignominious overthrow. No man of sense or knowledge can have any thing for science but the highest respect and honor, but it has had, especially of late years, the great misfortune of very many and very great shams among its interpreters. It is not here or ever, that we bring any charge against science itself. That is always and abidingly faithful in its testimony to the unity of truth ; and none but the shallowest and most timid of men can fear any evil results to the Bible from any real testimonies of science. Science is one thing, and its interpreters are another. And while we often laugh at the manifest incompetence of some of the latter, and while their precipitate conclusions and theorizings are worthy of nothing but ridicule, we give our changeless respect and confidence to science itself. Let men, who have the qualifications of discoverers and classifiers, go forward in their appropriate work, and the intelligence of the world will follow them with encouraging fame and just applause. But let it be well considered, that while Tycho Brahe was the great astronomic discoverer of his times, and while he mapped the heavens better than any other hand had done or could do, yet it required the great analytic mind of Kepler to read those discoveries and to assign them to their appropriate laws. And when the discoverers in modern science have done their great and honorable work, we may then have other Keplers to read and assign these discoveries to their proper laws and duties in the cosmic system.

But after wandering over the wild wastes and utter desolations of atheism, what a refreshing escape to enter once more into the rich floral and productive regions of divine revelation? The eye brightens and dilates amidst the vast variety and grandeur of the scene. The heart throbs with new vigor, and new joy, and faith disperses the clouds and malaria of infidel exhalations. The serene heavens shine with the splendor and majesty of God. "In the light shall we see light." God is the central point of all true science and philosophy, as well as of a written revelation. And where is there a sight more pitiable than your men of science and philosophy, smothered in fog, tangled in thickets of error, and bewildered amid toils and pitfalls on every hand?

Since writing the above, Sir Charles Lyell has published a book to let the world know that man was created ages—God

alone knows how many—before our Bible chronology had a beginning. Well, this is but another added to the number of such assertions so often made, and just as often refuted by science itself. Science is not all infidel, and it has neither been slow nor hesitating in exposing the ludicrous haste of these oft-repeated and unscientific blunders. Sir Charles will wake up some of these mornings to find his misty conclusions all gone, and the Bible standing where it ever has stood and ever will stand. Yet his successors, of similar faith, will repeat similar blunders with the same assurance. They will make the same kind of discoveries, be crowned with the same immortality, and die in the light of the same refutations. They do not seem to know the history of their own mistakes, and therefore do not fear the contempt of these oft-occurring exposures. Always dealing in things seen and tangible, they have little taste or time for things of morals or history.

ART. II.—*The Union and The Constitution.* No. II.

FAILURE OF THE CONFEDERATION.

THE utter inadequacy of the plan developed in the Articles of Confederation soon became apparent. So long as the war continued, the fervor of patriotism, and the necessity arising from a common danger, with difficulty sustained the Confederate administration, and kept the machinery of the government in motion. But a few years of peace demonstrated the necessity of a fundamental change of the whole scheme, not only for the welfare of the Union, but for its very existence. The requisitions of Congress upon the State governments, for the funds requisite to pay the interest of the public debt, to satisfy the just claims of the war-worn troops to whom their liberties were due, and for the other expenses of the Federal government, were met by some of the states tardily, and by others partially or not at all. The non-payment of the public debts, sometimes imposed a necessity, and more frequently suggested an excuse for failure to fulfill private contracts. That mutual confidence which is essential to business prosperity was destroyed. With the destruction of confidence, trade and commerce languished, gold and silver disappeared, and real property experienced an enormous depreciation.

The distress and disaffection resulting from these causes broke out into open rebellion in Massachusetts, and the revolt threatened to be contagious. National bankruptcy, with universal anarchy and ruin impending, for a time obscured the bright hopes of the future which had nerved the arm of patriotism in the darkest periods of the revolutionary struggle; whilst to all these domestic troubles were added the violation, by individual States, of the solemn treaty stipulations of Congress with other governments, — violations which at once assailed the honor and the union of the States and the peaceful relations of the nation with foreign powers.

"The Federal authority had ceased to be respected abroad, and dispositions were shown there, particularly in Great Britain, to take advantage of its imbecility, and to speculate on its approaching downfall. At home it had lost all confidence and credit; the unstable and unjust career of the States had also forfeited the respect and confidence essential to order and good government, involving a general decay of confidence and credit between man and man. It was found, moreover, that those least partial to popular government, or most distrustful of its efficacy, were yielding to anticipations that, from an increase of the confusion, a government might result more congenial with their taste or their opinions; whilst those most devoted to the principles and forms of republics were alarmed for the cause of liberty itself, at stake in the American experiment, and anxious for a system that would avoid the inefficiency of a mere confederacy, without passing into the opposite extreme of a consolidated government. It was known that there were individuals who had betrayed a bias towards monarchy, and there had always been some not unfavorable to a partition of the Union into several confederacies, either from a better chance of figuring on a sectional theater; or, that the sections would require stronger governments; or, by their hostile conflicts, lead to a monarchical consolidation. The idea of dismemberment had recently made its appearance in the newspapers."*

For evils fatal as these, the Articles of Confederation provided no remedy. "The Confederation appears to me," writes Washington, "to be little more than a shadow, without the

* Madison. Introduction to Debates, in Elliott, Vol. v. p. 120.

substance; and Congress, a nugatory body; their ordinances being little attended to. To me, it is a solecism in politics, indeed it is one of the most unaccountable things in nature, that we should confederate as a nation, and yet be afraid to give the rulers of that nation,—(who are creatures of our own making, appointed for a limited and short duration, and who are amenable for every action and may be recalled at any moment,* and are subject to all the evils which they may be instrumental in producing,) — sufficient powers to order and direct the affairs of the same. By such a policy as this, the wheels of government are clogged, and our brightest prospects, and that high expectation which was entertained of us by the wondering world, are turned into astonishment; and from the high ground on which we stood, we are descending into the vale of confusion and darkness.” †

In another letter, he says: “I have ever been a friend to adequate powers in Congress, without which it is evident to me we never shall establish a national character, or be considered as on a respectable footing by the powers of Europe. We are either a united people under one head, and for federal purposes, or we are thirteen independent sovereignties, eternally counteracting each other. If the former, whatever such a majority of the States as the Constitution points out, conceives to be for the benefit of the whole, should in my humble opinion be submitted to, by the minority. . . . I can foresee no evil greater than disunion; than those unreasonable jealousies (I say, unreasonable, because I would have a proper jealousy always awake, and *the United States on the watch to prevent individual states from infracting the constitution with impunity,*) which are continually poisoning our minds and filling them with imaginary evils, for the prevention of real ones.” ‡

On the 21st of January, 1786, a resolution was adopted in the Virginia Legislature, upon motion of Mr. Madison, appointing commissioners to meet and confer with like delegates from the other States, with respect to giving Congress more adequate powers for the regulation of trade and commerce. The pro-

* Such was the case with the delegates to Congress under the Confederation.

† Sparks' Washington. Vol. IX, p. 139.

‡ Sparks. Vol. IX, p. 121.

posed convention was held at Annapolis on the 11th of September, when delegates from only five States appeared.

"But," says Madison, "in the interval between the proposal of the convention, and the time of its meeting, such had been the advance of public opinion in the desired direction, stimulated as it had been by the effect of the contemplated object of the meeting, in turning the general attention to the critical state of things, and in calling forth the sentiments and exertions of the most enlightened and intelligent patriots, that the convention, thin as it was, did not scruple to decline the limited task assigned it, and to recommend to the States a convention with powers adequate to the occasion. Nor had it been unnoticed that the commission of the New Jersey deputation had extended its object to a general provision for the exigencies of the Union. A recommendation for this enlarged purpose, was accordingly reported by a committee to whom the subject had been referred. It was drafted by Col. Hamilton, and finally agreed to."†

In consequence of this action, a convention was called by Congress to be composed of delegates to be chosen by the States, "for the sole and express purpose of revising the articles of confederation, and reporting to Congress, and the several Legislatures, such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to by Congress, and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government, and the preservation of the Union."* The result was the assembling of that body, by which, with Washington at its head, the Constitution of the United States was drafted.

Of this Convention, James Madison was a member. Attached, in all his predilections to the popular or State rights party, and identified with it in all his eminent career,—he was led by a patriotic devotion to the welfare of his country, and conviction of the extremity of the emergency then impending, to give a hearty coöperation and support to the whole series of measures which resulted in the establishment of the Constitution and organization to the present system of government for the United States.

* Elliott's Madison Papers, 1846, p. 114.

† Journals of Congress, Feb. 21, 1787.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

Than Mr. Madison, no member of the convention exerted a greater influence over its proceedings,—no other assumed a higher responsibility in urging the adoption of the Constitution on the American people. The convention having been called, upon the motion of Virginia,—the delegation from that State had requested Edmund Randolph, one of its number, to sketch a plan to serve as a basis for the discussions of the convention. For his assistance in this work, Madison communicated his views in a letter, written shortly before the sitting of the convention.

"I hold it," he therein states, "for a fundamental point, that an individual independence of the States is utterly irreconcilable with the idea of an aggregate sovereignty. I think, at the same time, that a consolidation of the States into one simple republic is not less unattainable than it would be inexpedient. Let it be tried, then, whether any middle ground can be taken, which will at once support a due supremacy of the national authority, and leave in force the local authorities, so far as they can be subordinately useful. . . . Let it [the national government,] have a negative in all cases whatsoever, on the legislative acts of the States, as the king of Great Britain heretofore had. This I conceive to be essential, and the least possible abridgment of the State sovereignties. Without such a defensive power, every positive power that can be given on paper will be unavailing. . . . Let the national supremacy be extended, also, to the judiciary department. If the judges in the last resort, depend on the States, and are bound on their oaths to them, and not to the Union, the intention of the law and the interests of the nation may be defeated, by the obsequiousness of the tribunals to the policy or prejudices of the States. . . . An article ought to be inserted, expressly guaranteeing the tranquility of the States against internal, as well as external dangers. . . . To give the new system its proper energy, it will be desirable to have it ratified by the authority of the people, and not merely by that of the Legislatures."*

The convention met on the 14th of May, but owing to the

* Elliott's Madison Papers, 1845, p. 107.

small number of delegates in attendance, it was not organized until the 25th, when Washington was chosen president. On the 28th, the organization was completed by the adoption of rules.

Immediately upon this, Randolph submitted a plan of a constitution, framed in accordance with the suggestions of Madison. This, together with a paper from Mr. Charles Pinkney, of South Carolina, prepared on precisely similar principles, was at once referred to the committee of the whole.

In committee, Randolph introduced, as preliminary to the detailed propositions, the following resolutions here italicised as in Madison's report.

"1. That a union of the States merely federal, will not accomplish the objects proposed by the Articles of Confederation,—namely, common defense, security of liberty and general welfare.

"2. That no treaty or treaties, among the whole or part of the States, as individual sovereignties, would be sufficient.

"3. That a *national* government ought to be established, consisting of a *supreme* legislative, executive and judiciary."

Here, the word "federal" is used in contrast with national, and as equivalent to the sense in which "confederate," was afterward employed. Before the adjournment of the convention, by a process difficult now to trace, the word was appropriated, by the national party, to designate their system, as contrasted with confederation, under the title, "Federalist." Hamilton, Madison and Jay, published their essays, recommending the Constitution to popular acceptance. Thence, it became the designation of the party whose predilections for a strong national government was satisfied in the Constitution. Thus it happened that the word, originally expressive of confederation principles, became intensely obnoxious to the State rights party. Possibly it was the subject of the "verbal criticisms" noted below.

Of the discussions upon Randolph's propositions, Madison states that, "some verbal criticisms were raised against the first proposition, and it was agreed, on motion of Mr. Butler, seconded by Mr. Randolph, to pass on to the third; which underwent a discussion; less, however, on its general merits, than on the force and extent of the particular terms, *national* and *supreme*."

"Mr. Charles Pinkney wished to know of Mr. Randolph, whether he meant to abolish the State governments altogether. Mr. R. replied that he meant, by these general propositions, merely to introduce the particular ones which explained the outlines of the system he had in view.

"Mr. Gouverneur Morris explained the difference between a *federal* and a *national supreme* government; the former being a mere compact, resting on the good faith of the parties,—the latter having a complete and compulsive operation. He contended that in all communities there must be one supreme power, and only one."

"Mr. Mason, of Virginia, observed not only that the present confederation was deficient in not providing for coercion and punishment against delinquent States, but argued that punishment could not, in the nature of things, be executed on States collectively; and, therefore, that such a government was necessary as could directly operate on individuals, and would punish those only whose guilt required it." *

After such expositions of the intent of the proposition, it was adopted, and constituted the first resolution passed by the convention. Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, voted in the affirmative; Connecticut in the negative; and New York, divided. The delegates from New Hampshire did not appear in the Convention till some time after; and Rhode Island was not represented at all.

DIFFERENT PROJECTS.

On the 13th of June, the result of the deliberations in committee of the whole was reported to the Convention in a series of resolutions, corresponding essentially with the plan of Randolph, and designated in the discussions as Randolph's, or the Virginia plan.

The next day Mr. Patterson, of New Jersey, proposed as a substitute what is commonly called the New Jersey plan, which had been prepared in concert by the State rights party, mainly of the delegations from Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Mr. Martin, of Maryland. The following were the leading points of contrast between the two systems:—

1. The Virginia plan proposed the abandonment of the

* Elliott's Madison, pp. 132, 133.

idea of confederation, and the establishment of a system based upon national union. The New Jersey plan, holding on to the notion of State sovereignty and confederation, proposed merely to amend the Articles in some necessary points.

2. The former contemplated a national legislature composed of two houses, the first to be chosen by the people, and the second by the State legislatures, in each of which the representation should be in proportion to population, and the powers of which were to be such as are now exercised by the general government. The other had in view merely to enlarge on some points the powers of "the United States in Congress assembled," sitting as one house, and voting by States.

3. The one proposed to create an individual executive, to be elected by the national legislature, and continue in office for seven years, removable only by impeachment; with powers similar to those now vested in the president, including the veto. The other proposed a plural executive, to be chosen by "the United States in Congress," to hold office for — years, but removable by Congress, on application of a majority of the State executives, and ineligible for a second term; with power to execute the federal laws, to appoint federal officers not otherwise provided for, and to direct military operations; but not to command in person, nor to have a negative on legislative acts.

4. The judiciary, in the one plan, had original jurisdiction in all cases respecting the collecting of the national revenue, impeachments of national officers, and questions involving the national peace and harmony. In the other, its power was only appellate, except in the case of impeachments.

5. In the national plan, the legislature was authorized to negative all laws passed by the several States, contravening, in its opinion, the articles of union, or any treaties of the Union. In the other, the Federal executive was authorized to "call forth the power of the Confederate States, to enforce observance of the laws and treaties of the confederacy."

6. The former system placed the control in the majority of the people; the latter, in the majority of the States, although that should be a minority of the people.

7. Of the one *the people* were the fundamental element, and hence by them it must be adopted. In the other, *the States* were

fundamental, and the ratification was to be by their Legislatures.

The two plans were referred to the committee of the whole. In the discussion which ensued, Mr. Randolph accurately pointed out the fundamental issue between the plans as turning on the question whether, in the ordinary administration of the general government, it should be dependent upon the State authorities for the accomplishment of the general plans, with no other recourse than to the sword as the means of compelling them to faithfulness; or, whether it should have within itself the means of carrying out its own measures independent of the States. "The true question is, whether we shall adhere to the federal plan, or introduce the national plan. The insufficiency of the former has been fully displayed by the trial already made. There are but two modes by which the end of a general government can be attained; — the first, by coercion, as proposed by Mr. Patterson's plan. Coercion he pronounced to be impracticable, expensive, cruel to individuals. It tended also to habituate the instruments of it to shed blood, and riot in the spoils of their fellow citizens, and consequently train them up for the service of ambition. We must resort, therefore, to a *national legislature over individuals*; for which Congress * are unfit. To vest such power in them would be blending the legislative with the executive, contrary to the received maxim on this subject. If the union of these powers, heretofore, in Congress has been safe, it has been owing to the general impotency of that body. Congress are, moreover, not elected by the people, but by the Legislatures, who retain even a power of recall. They have, therefore, no will of their own; they are a mere diplomatic body, and are always obsequious to the views of the States, who are always encroaching on the authority of the United States. . . . A national government alone, properly constituted, will answer the purpose, and he begged it to be considered that the present is the last moment for establishing one. After this select experiment, the people will yield to despair." †

* That is, the Confederate Congress, then existing.

† Elliott's Madison, p. 198.

In the discussions which were had upon these plans the confederate scheme was objected to, as providing no way by which the general government could give effect to its laws, except by compelling the State governments to execute them. Whilst the State rights party vindicated the feasibility and adequacy of this resource, the advocates of a strong national government urged, against coercion, many arguments and expostulations which are now frequently misquoted, as though they condemned the vindication of the national life and sovereignty with the sword. The only coercion which they opposed was the compelling of the State governments to execute the laws of the United States.

Hamilton objected to both the proposed plans, as inadequate to the government of a territory so vast. From a general discussion on the subject of government, and the condition of the Union, he concluded, by way of inference,—“That we ought to go as far, in order to attain stability and permanency, as republican principles will admit. Let one branch of the legislature hold their places for life, or at least, during good behavior. Let the executive also be for life. . . . But is this a republican government? it will be asked. Yes, if all the magistrates are appointed and vacancies are filled by the people, or a process of election originating with the people. He was sensible that an executive constituted as he proposed, would have in fact but little of the power and independence that might be necessary. On the other plan, of appointing him for seven years, he thought the executive ought to have but little power. He would be ambitious, with the means of making creatures; and as the object of his ambition would be to prolong his power, it is probable that in case of war, he would avail himself of the emergency, to evade or refuse a degradation from his place. An executive for life has not this motive for forgetting his fidelity, and will, therefore, be a safer depository of power.

“It will be objected, probably, that such an executive will be an elective monarch, and will give birth to the tumults which characterize that form of government. He would reply, that *monarch* is an indefinite term. It marks not either the degree or duration of power. If this executive magistrate would be a monarch for life, the other proposed by the report

from the committee of the whole, would be a monarch for seven years."

Mr. Hamilton read a sketch of his plan, which was not offered to the Convention, but "was meant only to give a more correct view of his ideas, and to suggest the amendments which he should probably propose to the plan of Mr. Randolph in the proper stages of the discussion."

The only peculiarity in his sketch, beside the points respecting the tenure of office by the president and senate, was contained in the tenth article:—"All laws of the particular States contrary to the Constitution and laws of the United States to be utterly void; and the better to prevent such laws being passed, the governor or president of each State shall be appointed by the general government, and shall have a negative upon the laws about to be passed in the state of which he is the governor or president." *

After some days' discussion on the question,—“whether the committee should rise, and Mr. Randolph's propositions be reported without alteration,—which was in fact a question whether Mr. Randolph's should be adhered to as preferable to those of Mr. Patterson,”—the vote was taken and resulted,—“Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia—Aye,—7. New York, New Jersey, Delaware—No,—3. Maryland, divided.” †

THE NATIONAL LEGISLATURE.

The fundamental point in all the discussions of the Convention, had respect to the constitution and powers of the general legislature. While the State rights party insisted that it should consist of one house, in which the vote should be by States,—the advocates of a national system urged that it be divided into two houses, in which the representation should be in proportion to the population, and the vote *per capita*. In support of this view, it was argued that “despotism comes on mankind in different shapes;—sometimes in an executive, sometimes in a military one. Is there no danger of a legislative despotism? Theory and practice both proclaim it. If

* Ibid, p. 205.

† Elliott's Madison, p. 212.

the legislative authority be not restrained, there can be neither liberty nor stability; and it can only be restrained by dividing it, within itself, into distinct and independent branches. In a single house, there is no check but the inadequate one of the virtue and good sense of those who compose it." *

Randolph stated that the general object of his plan was to provide a cure for the evils under which the United States labored; that, in tracing these evils to their origin, every man had found it in the turbulence and follies of democracy; that some check therefore was to be sought for against this tendency of our governments; and that a good senate seemed most likely to answer the purpose."† Ultimately the plan of two houses was generally acquiesced in.

In discussing the details of their Constitution, a number of propositions were made with a design to give the State governments some control over the election of the first or representative house. These all were rejected, and its election by the people was voted by nine States to one, and one divided. It was then moved that their salaries be paid by the States. This was refused, on the ground, stated by Randolph, that by this means "a dependence would be created that would vitiate the whole system."‡

Until the closing acts of the Convention, the provision respecting the House of Representatives, was so framed as to require that the number of representatives should not exceed one for every forty thousand. On a motion, towards the close of the sessions, to substitute "thirty thousand," "Col. Hamilton expressed himself with great earnestness and anxiety in favor of the motion. He avowed himself a friend to a vigorous government; but would declare at the same time, he held it essential that the popular branch of it should be on a broad foundation. He was seriously of opinion that the House of Representatives was on so narrow a scale as to be really dangerous, and to warrant a jealousy in the people for their liberties. He remarked that the connection between the the President and the Senate would tend to perpetuate him,

* Wilson, in Elliott's Madison, p. 196.

† Ibid, p. 188.

‡ Ibid, p. 226.

by corrupt influence. It was the more necessary, on this account, that a numerous representation in the other branch of the Legislature should be established." *

The amendment was rejected, but being renewed, after the final engrossment of the Constitution, and urged by Washington himself,—the only occasion on which he interposed in the deliberations,—it was adopted without opposition. †

As to the constitution of the Senate, the proposal was readily agreed to, that its members be elected by the State legislatures; and farther determined, after much difficulty, in compliance to the smaller States,—that the number of Senators from each State be equal. The rule that each member should have one vote, was opposed, "as departing from the idea of the *States* being represented in the second branch." But the objection was overruled by a vote of nine States to one.‡ With a similar view to State control, it was moved that their compensation be provided by the States who send them. But Mr. Madison "considered this a departure from a fundamental principle, and subverting the end intended by allowing the Senate a duration of six years. They would, if this motion should be agreed to, hold their places during pleasure; during the pleasure of the State legislatures. One great end of the institution was, that, being a firm, wise, and impartial body, it might not only give stability to the general government, in its operations on individuals, but hold an even balance among different States. The motion would make the Senate like [the continental] Congress, the mere agents and advocates of State interests and views; instead of being the impartial umpires and guardians of justice and the general good."§

"Mr. Dayton considered the payment of the Senate by the States, as fatal to their independence."¶ The proposal was rejected.

Again the parties joined issue upon the length of the Senatorial term. In the Virginia plan, seven years was the period designated. Three years were proposed instead. "Seven years would raise an alarm. Great mischiefs have arisen in England, from their septennial act." "Mr. Randolph was for

* Elliott's Madison, p. 590.

† Ibid, p. 555.

‡ Ibid, p. 357.

§ Ibid, p. 246.

¶ Ibid.

the term of seven years. The democratic licentiousness of the State legislatures proved the necessity of a firm Senate. The object of this second branch is to control the democratic branch of the national legislature. If it be not a firm body, the other branch being more numerous, and coming immediately from the people, will overwhelm it."

"Mr. Madison considered seven years as a term by no means too long. What we wished was, to give to the government that stability which was every where called for, and which the enemies of the republican form alleged to be inconsistent with its nature. He was not afraid of giving too much stability by the term of seven years. His fear was, that the popular branch would still be too great an overmatch for it."*

In committee, upon the question for seven years, there were eight States in the affirmative, one negative and two divided. When, at a subsequent period, the point came up in the Convention, "Mr. Read moved that the term be nine years. This would admit of a very convenient rotation, one-third going out triennially. He would still prefer, 'during good behavior,' but being little supported in that idea, he was willing to take the longest term that could be obtained.

"Mr. Broom seconded the motion.

"Mr. Madison. In order to judge of the form to be given to this institution, it will be proper to take a view of the ends to be served by it. These were,—*first*, to protect the people against their rulers; *secondly*, to protect the people against the transient passions into which they themselves might be led. A people deliberating in a temperate moment, and with the experience of other nations before them, on the plan of government most likely to secure their happiness, would first be aware that those charged with the public happiness might betray their trust. An obvious precaution against this danger would be, to divide the trust between different bodies of men, who might watch and check each other. In this, they would be governed by the same prudence which has prevailed in organizing the subordinate departments of government, where all business liable to abuses, is made to pass through separate hands, the one being a check upon the other. It would next

* Ibid, p 186.

occur to such a people, that they themselves were liable to temporary errors, through want of information as to their true interest; and that men chosen for a short term, and employed but a short portion of that in public affairs, might err from the same cause. This reflection would naturally suggest, that the government be so constituted as that one of its branches might have an opportunity of acquiring a competent knowledge of the public interests. Another reflection, equally becoming a people on such an occasion, would be, that they themselves, as well as a numerous body of representatives, were liable to err, also, from fickleness and passion. A necessary fence against this danger would be, to select a portion of enlightened citizens, whose limited number, and firmness, might seasonably interpose against impetuous counsels. It ought, finally, to occur to such a people, deliberating on a government for themselves, that, as different interests necessarily result from the liberty meant to be secured, the major part might, under sudden impulses, be tempted to commit injustice on the minority. . . . No agrarian attempts have yet been made in this country; but symptoms of a leveling spirit, as we have understood, have sufficiently appeared in a certain quarter to give notice of the future danger. How is this danger to be guarded against on republican principles; how is the danger, in all cases of interested coalitions to oppress the minority to be guarded against? Among other means, by the establishment of a body in the government, sufficiently respectable for its wisdom and virtue to aid, on such emergencies, the preponderance of justice, by throwing its weight into that scale. Such being the objects of the second branch in the proposed government, he thought a considerable duration ought to be given it. He did not conceive that the term of nine years, could threaten any real danger; but, in pursuing his particular ideas on the subject, he should require that the long term allowed to the second branch should not commence till such a period of life, as would render a perpetual disqualification to be re-elected, little inconvenient, either in a public or private view.* "Various have been the propositions, but my opinion is, the longer they continue in office, the better."†

* Ibid, p. 242, 243.

† Yeates' Report, in Elliott's Debates, 1836, i, p. 450.

Hamilton, G. Morris, and a few others, favored the incumbency of Senators during good behavior; but the proposition was not pressed to a vote. Ultimately, six years was adopted, as convenient for triennial rotation.

THE EXECUTIVE.

With respect to the executive, Randolph separated from the majority of the convention. "He strenuously opposed a unity in the executive magistracy. He regarded it as the fetus of a monarchy. . . . He could not see why the great requisites for the executive department,—vigor, dispatch and responsibility,—could not be found in three men, as well as in one man." "He was for three members of the executive, to be drawn from different portions of the country."* "On the question for a single executive, it was agreed to. Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Virginia (Mr. Randolph and Mr. Blair, no; Dr. McClung, Mr. Madison and General Washington, aye; Colonel Mason being no, but not in the house; Mr. Wythe aye, but gone home); North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, aye, 7; New York, Delaware, Maryland, no, 3."†

The Virginia plan, as amended in committee of the whole and reported to the Convention, proposed that the President should be chosen by the national legislature, to serve seven years, and be ineligible for a second term. The latter provision having been stricken out by the Convention, Dr. McClung of Virginia moved "to strike out 'seven years' and insert, 'during good behavior.' By striking out the words declaring him not reëligible, he was put into a situation that would keep him dependent forever on the legislature."

Mr. Madison conceived it absolutely necessary to a well constituted republic, that the executive and legislative powers should be kept distinct and independent of each other. Whether the plan proposed by the motion was a proper one, was another question; as it depended on the practicability of instituting a tribunal for impeachments as certain and as adequate in the one case as in the other [in the case of the executive as in that of the

* Elliott's Madison, p. 141, 149.

† Ibid, p. 151.

judiciary]. On the other hand respect for the mover entitled his proposition to a fair hearing and discussion, until a less objectionable expedient should be applied for guarding against a dangerous union of the legislative and executive departments."

Colonel Mason objected to the proposal,—“it was a softer name only for an executive for life; and that the next would be an easy step to hereditary monarchy.”

Madison replied that he “was not apprehensive of being thought to favor any step toward a monarchy. The real object with him was to prevent its introduction. Experience had proved a tendency in our government to throw all power into the legislative vortex. The executives of the States are in general little more than ciphers, the legislatures omnipotent. If no effectual check be devised, for restraining the instability and encroachments of the latter, a revolution of some kind or other would be inevitable.

“G. Morris was as little a friend to monarchy as any gentleman. He concurred in the opinion that the way to keep out monarchical government, was to establish such a republican government as would make the people happy, and prevent a desire of change.”

“Dr. McClung was not so much afraid of the shadow of monarchy as to be unwilling to approach it; nor so wedded to republican government as not to be sensible of the tyrannies that had been or may be exercised under that form. It was an essential object with him, to make the executive independent of the legislature; and the only mode left for effecting it, after the vote destroying his ineligibility a second time, was to appoint him during good behavior.

“On the question for inserting ‘during good behavior,’ in place of ‘seven years,’ (with reeligibility) it passed in the negative. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, aye, 4; Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, no, 6.”*

Ultimately, the presidential term was reduced to four years; not as though that were a proper limit to the executive incumbency, but with the idea of giving the people an opportunity every four years to sit in judgment upon the chief magistrate,

* Ibid, pp. 325-327.

with the expectation that if he had deserved well of his country, he would be reelected. The doctrine of rotation in office had no favor in the convention.

STATE SUBORDINATION.

The only other subject of discussion in the Convention, which it is necessary here to notice, had respect to the supremacy of the general government, and the means of holding the States in subordination. Of the propriety and necessity of this there was a general agreement.

With respect to sovereignty,—that ambiguous term which has caused so much mischief,—Madison asserted that “the States never possessed the essential rights of sovereignty. These were always vested in Congress. Their voting as States in Congress is no evidence of sovereignty. The State of Maryland voted by counties. Did this make the counties sovereign? The States at present are only great corporations, having the power of making by-laws; and these are effectual only if they are not contradictory to the general confederation. The States ought to be placed under the control of the general government: at least, as much so as they formerly were under the King and the British Parliament.”*

In order to accomplish this, it was proposed by Madison, and incorporated in Randolph’s plan, that the general government have a negative on all laws passed by the States, contravening the Constitution, and treaties of the United States. This plan was speedily seen to be impracticable, owing to the enormous amount of labor which would thereby be imposed on the national legislature. Hamilton proposed to accomplish the object by having the State Governors appointed by the general government, and invested with a negative upon the enactments of the State legislatures. The means at length adopted was that of giving the national judiciary original jurisdiction in all cases arising under the laws, Constitution, and treaties of the United States; and providing that these should be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

As to the means of enforcing the authority of the general government, Dr. McClung asked “whether it would not be ne-

*Yeates’ Report, in Elliott, i.

cessary, before a committee for detailing the Constitution should be appointed, to determine on the means by which the executive is to carry the laws into effect, and to resist combinations against them? Is he to have a military force for the purpose; or, to have the command of the militia, the only existing force that can be applied to that use?"

It was replied that "the committee are to provide for the end. Their discretionary power, to provide for the means, is involved, according to an established axiom."* Without farther discussion, on the subject, the committee drafted, and the Convention adopted the provision for the employment of the military force in the suppression of insurrection.

Thus, step by step, did the Convention proceed to lay the broad foundations and rear the superstructure of a national system of government, in the discussions of which the pretensions of State sovereignty, which were urged at every step, were emphatically repudiated and disregarded. The only vestige of the Confederate idea which was permitted in the whole work, is the equal representation of the States in the Senate; a feature readily allowed, as presenting the means of erecting the Senate upon a representative basis different from that of the House,—a condition essential to constitute them mutual checks upon each other. But even this concession was deprived of all significance to the purposes of the State rights theory, by the fact that the Senate is but one of two branches of the legislature, contrary to their plan;—by the length of term assigned the Senators, for the avowed purpose of rendering them independent of State control,—by their payment out of the national treasury, designed for the same purpose;—and by the rule which provides that the Senatorial vote be taken individually, and not by States.

Perhaps candor may be thought to demand reference to the last article of the Constitution, which is sometimes cited as decisive in favor of the Confederate interpretation of the instrument. Of how much avail it is to such a purpose, in the presence of all the facts, the reader may judge. It provides that "the ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same."

* Ibid, pp. 343-344.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE ARTICLES.

The essential characteristics of the instrument framed by the Convention, as compared with the Articles of Confederation, are embraced mainly in the following points :

1. The Articles were established by the State governments, without recurrence to the people, or commission from them for such a purpose in any form. They are "Articles of Confederation, and perpetual union *between the States*" enumerated ; or, rather, between the State governments. "The Constitution is the fruit of the first and only appeal ever made to the people, as to the form of government under which they choose to enjoy their liberties. Drafted by a convention appointed for that sole and express purpose," and ultimately submitted to the judgment of the people, in conventions called and elected by them for that end,—the style of the preamble truly expresses the nature of the transaction :

"We the *people of the United States*, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, *do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.*"

2. The Articles of Confederation were of the nature of a compact, predicated upon the preëxistent union, and entered into between the State governments, of their own several authority. The Constitution was not a compact, but an ordinance, or constitution, in the proper sense ; which "the people of the United States," by their paramount authority, "ordain and establish "for the organization and government of the Union and subordination of the States. At first, in imitation of the Articles, the preamble to the Constitution ran in the name of "the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts," &c. But this phraseology was liable to a distributive interpretation, corresponding with the idea of a confederacy. It was therefore altered, the enumeration of States stricken out, and the style of "the people of the United States," adopted in its stead.

3. Under the provisions of the Articles, the general government acted upon the State authorities without any access to the people. The Constitution establishes its control over the people, in a manner as immediate and efficient as is that of the State

governments; enforcing its authority and executing its decrees upon the individual citizens by its own officers, without recourse to the State authorities, or interposition by them.

4. The Articles allowed the national government scarcely any but legislative power. It had no executive in fact, and no judiciary; and hence, no means of enforcing its enactments. The Constitution provides a legislature, executive and judiciary, with prerogatives pervading the whole Union, and paramount alike over all the authorities of the States, and every inhabitant of the country.

5. The Articles left Congress with no control over the trade and commerce of the country, and with no power to collect even those taxes which it was authorized to impose; dependent upon the discretion, the caprice, or the factious policy of thirteen distinct sets of functionaries, executive, legislative and judicial, for every dollar of revenue, and the execution of every law which it enacted, or treaty which it made. The Constitution gives the general government exclusive authority over trade and commerce, commits to its own officers the execution of its laws and treaties, and declares them paramount, "anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

6. In one respect the two documents are in perfect accord. Neither the one nor the other pretends to create or originate the Union of the States; but, recognizing it as a preëxistent fact, the articles declare that "the Union shall be perpetual," and the Constitution establishes its provisions, "in order to form a more perfect Union." But whilst, in the Articles of Confederation the perpetuity of the Union stands as a naked declaration,—the Constitution contains provisions which preclude the attempt at disunion, and annul and suppress any measures tending thereto. It provides that "No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque or reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a legal tender in payment of debts." "No State shall, without the consent of Congress, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace; enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power." Having thus provided against the organization of combined insurrection by the States, it requires that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government,"—a provision

which at once becomes nugatory, if the right of secession be recognized.

To render these provisions effectual, it gives Congress power "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions; to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States;" and having required the President solemnly to swear or affirm, "that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States,"—it places the army, navy, and militia,—the whole power of the Union, in his hand, to be employed to that end, and charges him to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed."*

Having completed their labors, the Convention communicated the result to Congress, accompanied with a letter, in which they state the object which they had aimed to accomplish: "In all our deliberations, on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American,—the consolidation of our Union,—in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety,—perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected; and thus, the Constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity and of mutual deference and concession, which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable."†

The Convention further stated it to Congress, as their opinion, that the Constitution, as communicated by them, "should be submitted to a convention of delegates, chosen in each State, by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification."‡

RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The discussion of the Constitution was now transferred to the

* See Constitution, i, 10; iv, 4; i, 8; ii, 1-3.

† Elliott's Madison, p. 586.

‡ Ibid, p. 541.

press and popular assemblies, and to the State Conventions. Under the title of the *Federalist*, a series of articles, the joint productions of Messrs. Hamilton, Madison and Jay, were published in opposition to any plan of confederation, and in vindication of the Constitution as a national system, created not by compact of States, but by the will of the people. In these articles, Madison, from a review of the failures of former confederacies, derives this conclusion: "Experience is the oracle of truth, and where its responses are unequivocal, they ought to be conclusive and sacred. The important truth which it unequivocally pronounces in the present case is, that a sovereignty over sovereigns, a government over governments, a legislation for communities, as contradistinguished from individuals: as it is a solecism in theory, so, in practice, it is subversive of the order and ends of civil polity."* So, Hamilton declares that "The great and radical vice in the construction of the existing Confederation, is in the principle of legislation for States or governments, in their corporate or collective capacities, and as contradistinguished from the individuals of whom they consist;"—and commends the Constitution, because it "incorporates into one plan those ingredients which may be considered as forming the characteristic difference between a league and a government," and "extends the authority of the Union to the persons of the citizens—the only proper objects of government."† Again, he anticipates a sophism which has at length proved fatal to our country: "However gross a heresy it may be, to maintain that a party to a compact has a right to revoke that compact, the doctrine itself has had respectable advocates. The possibility of a question of this nature, proves the necessity of laying the foundations of our national government deeper than in the mere sanction of delegated authority. The fabric of American empire ought to rest on the solid basis of the consent of the people. The streams of national power ought to flow immediately from that pure original fountain of all legitimate authority."‡

In the State Conventions the antifederal or State rights party rallied all its strength to oppose the adoption of the Constitution. In none of these was the discussion more earnest and able, nor

* *Federalist*, No. 20.

† *Ibid*, No. 15.

‡ *Ibid*, No. 22.

the report more full and satisfactory, than in that of Virginia. Of the members of that Convention, no one stood more deservedly high in the public esteem and confidence, for patriotism, genius and moral worth, than Patrick Henry, the leader of the Antifederalists in that body. He had read the language in which the Convention stated to Congress the object kept by it steadily in view,—“the consolidation of the Union.” He had traced that design in every line of the document itself, and in all the subsequent discussions;—and, forgetful of the noble sentences in which, at the beginning of the revolutionary struggle, he had himself proclaimed the merging of provincial ties in the paramount claims of the Union,—his jealousy for the sovereignty of Virginia was aroused; and he urged the demand by what authority the Convention ventured upon the ground which it had assumed. “I would make this enquiry,” said the orator, “of those worthy characters who composed a part of the late federal Convention. I am sure they were fully impressed with the necessity of forming a great consolidated government, instead of a confederation. That this is a consolidated government, is demonstrably clear; and the danger of such a government is, to my mind, very striking. I have the highest veneration for those gentlemen; but, sir, give me leave to demand, what right had they to say, ‘*We, the people?*’ My political curiosity, exclusive of my anxious solicitude for the public welfare, leads me to ask,—who authorized them to speak the language of *We, the people*, instead of *We, the States?* States are the characteristics, and the soul of a confederation. If the States be not the agents of this compact, it must be one great, consolidated national government of all the people of all the States. . . . Even of that illustrious man, who saved us by his valor, I would have a reason for his conduct. That liberty which he has given us by his valor, tells me to ask this reason,—and sure I am, were he here, he would give us that reason. But there are other gentlemen here who can give us this information. *The people* gave them no power to use their name. That they exceeded their power is perfectly clear.”*

Again he recurs to the subject:—“I rose on yesterday, not to enter upon the discussion, but merely to ask a question which

* Elliott's Debates, vol. iii, p. 22.

had arisen in my own mind. When I asked that question, I thought the meaning of my interrogation was obvious. The fate of America may depend on this question. Have they said, *We, the States?* Have they made a proposal of a compact between States? If they had, this would be a confederation; it is, otherwise, most clearly a consolidated government. The whole question turns on that poor little thing, the expression,—*‘We, the people,’* instead of—*the States of America.*”*

Mr. Madison replied:—“There are a number of opinions as to the nature of the government; but the principal question is, whether it be a federal or consolidated government. In order to judge properly of the question before us, we must consider it minutely in its principal parts. I conceive, myself, that it is of a mixed nature:—it is, in a manner, unprecedented. We can not find one express example in the experience of the world,—it stands by itself. In some respects it is a government of a federal nature: in others, it is of a consolidated nature.” He then points out and discriminates its federal from its national features.†

But, said Henry: “What signifies it to me that you have the most curious anatomical description of it, in its creation? To all the common purposes of legislation it is a great consolidation of government.”‡

Such were the lights in which the Constitution was presented by its advocates, and assailed by its opponents, and in view of which it was finally adopted by the people of the United States. By that adoption, it and the treaties and laws of the United States, “made in pursuance thereof,” became,—according to the express terms of its own articles,—“the supreme law of the land,” binding the judiciary, State as well as National, “any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.”§

RESERVED RIGHTS.

In perfect harmony with all the provisions in the body of the Constitution, is the language of Articles ix and x, of the amend-

* Ibid, p. 44.

† Ibid, p. 94.

‡ Ibid, p. 171.

§ Constitution, Article vi. 2.

ments, subsequently adopted:—"The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." In the first of these articles, certain rights are spoken of which are "retained *by* the people," to-wit: "the people of the United States," the parties by whom the Constitution was "ordained and established;" and who are thus distinctly recognized as the alone authors, alike, of the delegations of authority to the national government, and the reservations from it. In the next article, powers are spoken of as reserved, not *by*, but "to the States respectively." The significance of the change of expression here marked, must be apparent to every candid mind. Its effect in determining that "the people of the United States," and not "the States severally," are the authors of the Constitution, is not weakened by the form of the last clause, which, by the force of attraction, assimilates with that immediately preceding: "Reserved to the States respectively, or *to* the people." The people having so emphatically, just before, as well as elsewhere, asserted their authority and the agency in the premises, could well afford here to use a modified phrase, in deference to the jealous feelings of the States, who were so reluctantly restricted to a subordinate position.

Of all this, however, the essential matter is, that here, as well as throughout the entire Constitution, three several parties are distinctly recognized, as invested with rights and prerogatives of government. These are "the people of the United States," the national government, and "the States respectively." The first of these are not only the authors of the Constitution, but the paramount sovereign, which therein delegates to the general government its powers; imposes limitations upon those of the States respectively; reserves to them their legitimate functions, and retains the remainder, by the express reservation "to the States or *to the people*." If, therefore, a given prerogative is not, in the Constitution, delegated to the general government, it by no means follows, that it of course belongs to the States respectively. The functions of the latter are limited by two express restrictions, namely, the prohibitions of the Constitution, and the reservations of the people. Among the former are included

any violation of the laws, Constitution and treaties of the United States. These are paramount even to the State constitutions, which are the highest possible expressions of the sovereignty of the people of the States severally. In the same category is to be enumerated all questions of constitutional interpretation; or, in other words, of the prerogatives and limitations of the various departments of the national government,—questions which are expressly reserved to the courts of the United States.

From these restrictions, so expressly marked, it is manifest, that according to the Constitution, it does not belong to the States to interpose their authority, under the pretense of reserved rights, for the correction of evils arising in the general government, or for curbing usurpations attempted by it. This belongs to the people, whose creature it is, and to whom only by the provisions of the Constitution it is subordinate and responsible. Any attempt, therefore, by State governments to arrogate such authority is, not only a dereliction from their duty to the general government, but a high crime against the people of the nation, whose rights they thus usurp. The recourse of States, as well as of individuals must, in such case, be to those means and tribunals which the Constitution itself erects and designates. To suppose these to be set aside, under any pretense of authority, State or national, if persisted in, implies, not casual disorder, but revolution; for which there is no remedy but the sword.

THE RESULTS.

Thus was perfected the organism of that great nation whose amazing growth, prosperity and power constitute, at once, the most conspicuous fact, and the most pregnant cause, in the history of an age of wonders,—transforming by the influence of its silent example, the whole face of Europe, and inspiring with new and high hope the friends of man. Originally identified with Britain, as integral parts of one great nation,—yet more intimately related to each other, as dwellers in one land, cherishing the same habits and sympathies, sharers of common privations and toils, heirs of the same rights of freemen, and objects of the same aggressions and hostilities from the crown and parliament,—the influences which sundered the ties that bound them to the mother country, were so far from tending to disunite them from each other, that they only rendered the Union the more

necessary and cherished. The only modes in which their native connection with each other could have been dissolved, and distinct nationalities instituted among them, were the separate adoption by them severally, of ordinances of independence; or, subsequent withdrawal from the Union, after independence had been achieved,—a step which would have been as important in itself, and as momentous in its results as the separation from Britain.

From the history here traced, it appears that the occasion of the revolutionary conflict was the invasion by the British government of the rights of sovereign and exclusive jurisdiction by the several colonies over their own internal affairs,—rights guaranteed by charters which, in the language of Massachusetts, to Lord Camden, rendered the “legislative bodies in America, as perfectly free as a subordination to the supreme legislative would admit.”

It further appears that the Continental Congress, when convened at the beginning of the struggle, conscious of an essential unity which required no other bond, altogether neglected to enter into any form of mutual alliance, compact, or union; but proceeded at once in the name of “The United Colonies,” with the cordial sanction of the entire loyal population, to assume and exercise, in the most efficient and decisive manner, the authority and prerogatives of paramount sovereignty,—organizing a “continental army;” electing and commissioning a commander-in-chief, and other officers; creating a navy; issuing letters of marque and reprisal; organizing a post-office; emitting bills of credit; forbidding commercial intercourse with Britain and its dependencies; holding diplomatic correspondence with the other powers of Europe; and, at length, in the name and by the authority of the good people of the colonies, dissolving the political bands which had connected them with Great Britain, and decreeing their entrance as one people, in a separate and equal station among the powers of the earth. Of this central authority the voice of Washington testifies that in accepting the command at the first, and leading the armies of American liberty, his confidence under God was in the justice of the cause, and “the support of the *supreme power of the Union.*”

It appears that, so far was the Union from being formed by a delegation of power, on the part of the State authorities,—the

converse is true. Amid the ruins of the royal governments, the provincial or State organizations were not erected, until application had been made to Congress for direction on the subject, and its sanction and instructions had first been obtained. And if, subsequently, the State authorities, acting under influences which we have here pointed out, seized the opportunity presented by the unorganized condition of the central power, and its consequent weakness, to usurp prerogatives which were practically incompatible with the perpetuation of the Union, the wrong was at once corrected, upon the first appeal to the American people, by the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and the appointment of the father of his country to inaugurate its provisions.

Two important conclusions follow from these facts:

First. That the exclusive and sovereign jurisdiction of the States, severally, over their internal affairs, constitutes a primitive and fundamental datum of American history; and, except so far as it has been surrendered or limited by the people in the provisions of the Constitution, still remains, invested with the same authority, fortified by the same sanctions, and unalterable except in the same mode as the Constitution itself,—by the will and authority of the whole people, acting in their sovereign capacity in the mode which the Constitution prescribes.

Second. That the unity of the American people,—the Union of the States as one nation,—is a fact equally primitive and fundamental with the other. From the first settlement of a British colony on the coast until the investiture of Washington as President of the United States, there never was an hour in which any colony or State claimed a separate national status and independent supremacy. There never was a time when the supreme authority of the thirteen colonies was not a unit. The representation of that supremacy,—at first vested in the British Crown and Parliament,—was then transferred to the Continental Congress, and held and exercised by it without question or interruption, alike, during the struggle which preceded the declaration of independence,—between that epoch and the adoption of the Articles of Confederation,—and from that adoption until the ratification of the Constitution and establishment of the present form of government. From the beginning, any attempt, by one of the States, to separate itself from the Con-

tinental Union, would have been resisted as an act of violence to its own native position, relations and interests, and of treason to the Constitution and rights of the whole body, of which it formed a part. The attempt would have been rebellion, and success revolution.

While, therefore, on the one hand, any interference by the general government with the internal affairs of the States,—except as far as expressly authorized by the Constitution,—must be regarded as a usurpation, identical in its nature with that which impelled the Colonies to separate from Great Britain ;—on the other hand,—not only by virtue of the express provisions of the Constitution,—but, because of the original, essential and unbroken unity and sovereignty of the American people, and Union of the States, “secession is treason.” Should the Constitution be abrogated to-morrow, and the government dissolved, the Union,—the nation,—would still remain; and would be abundantly competent, in the majesty of its ultimate supremacy, to ordain and establish a new Constitution, and call a new set of officers to administer its affairs and see that the republic should suffer no detriment.

ART. III.—*The Army Chaplain's Manual*, by Rev. J. Pinkney Hammond. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1863.

The preface of this book declares that it was written to supply “a want which has been long felt in the chaplain's department of the Army.” Such a want no doubt really did exist and was felt by many chaplains and others, in and out of the army. Having seen the work whose title stands at the head of this article, warmly commended by a prominent religious journal, of the city of New York, we bought the book the first time we came across it. We must confess it disappointed us. It is not what we expected, much less what we would desire, on such a topic especially at the present time. True, the author makes many good suggestions, but nearly all of them are quite common-place. We surely do not flatter chaplains when we assert that nineteen out of every twenty of them could have written two-thirds of this book, and that fully one-half of it would not

seem to them necessary to be written at all, at least in a work designed for the instruction of chaplains. This Manual is too elementary, it contains too much that a chaplain ought to know, and may well be presumed to have already learned. It would do very well for a young man just beginning to preach, and much better for one just commencing a course of theological study. But of all ministers, the chaplain needs to be "not a novice, lest being lifted up with pride he fall into the condemnation of the Devil." May we not presume that a chaplain knows he needs personal religion. It is proper, and perhaps necessary, to insist that he should be an unusually devout minister. Certainly he needs to be put on his guard, lest insensibly he fall away from the standard of personal piety, to which both he himself, and those around him, held him at home, "lest," to take the words which the Holy Ghost useth, he "be hardened by the deceitfulness of sin." This is a point which we should have been glad to have seen made more distinct and prominent in the Army Chaplain's Manual." For this purpose we could have spared much that Mr. Hammond says of prayer, personal religion and kindred topics. We could have spared it, not because it is not all very true and very good, but because we would take it for granted that the chaplain has the general primary qualifications of the Christian and the minister. If it be urged that there are chaplains belonging to sects which do not require personal religion in their religious teachers, and that some who did not belong to any sect or church have served as chaplains in the army, we answer that Mr. Hammond himself declares, and we think with entire truth, that the "recent legislation of Congress" has had the effect in a great measure, if not altogether, to remove this latter anomaly, and has brought "a superior class of men" into this branch of the service. And if there be here and there an occasional Unitarian, or Universalist, or a Swedenborgian, who has been from childhood imbued with the peculiar views of those sects (and much more if he have gone over to them from the bosom of some orthodox church), who has age and force of character enough to render him at all qualified to act as chaplain, we do not think he is likely to have his views changed by the two or three pages on personal religion which he will encounter in the Army Chaplain's Manual. Nor can we see why it is necessary in writing for men who think (and certainly

chaplains ought to belong to that class), after having said that chaplains must have a conformity of soul to their work, must be earnest in it, must be men of prayer, and have spiritual gifts, attainments and knowledge, to write in addition three or four pages upon the necessity of personal religion. Does not personal religion include all these? Can one truly have any of them, and much more all, and not have personal religion? Oh, that in the place of these dull lifeless repetitions, Mr. Hammond had given us some clear, simple, pointed words, that were suited to the hour, and would thus have done good for all time to come.

The book seems to us far better adapted to the hospital than to the camp. The writer appears all the while to have before his mind's eye, a large commodious building with its well furnished wards and orderly arrangements. There is seldom anything in this Manual which "a plain man dwelling in tents" would feel was specially designed for him. There is more good sound sense, in an article in the June number of this Review, by Dr. Landis, than in this whole book. Take for instance the following advice as to what Mr. Hammond calls the chaplain's pastoral work.

"Much has frequently been said in the same connection, and with
"equal want of discrimination, about 'laboring personally' with the men
"for their salvation. And rules are not unfrequently laid down for
"guidance in the matter by those who, on the score of practical know-
"ledge, prudence, or remarkable preëminence in any of the Christian
"virtues, are the least qualified to advert to the subject at all. But any
"one who will cast his eye over the aforesaid specification of the obsta-
"cles in the way of the chaplain, as he enters upon his field, with ten or
"twelve hundreds of men under his charge, will not need that we here
"stop in order to repel such presumption. The gifts of Christ's ministers
"are various. But every true minister will, on surveying his field, pur-
"sue that course in which he believes he can accomplish most good.
"The matter should be left to him, without subjecting him to the
"annoyance of dictation and intermeddling on the part of those, who
"while they sustain no portion of the mental burden of his responsibil-
"ities, are in no way capacitated to offer him either counsel or sugges-
"tion. Should a similar intermeddling be attempted in the case of the
"surgeons, captains, colonel, or any other officers in the army, its
"authors would soon be taught, and in a way that would insure the
"remembrance of the lesson, that it became them to confine their atten-
"tion to matters which are legitimately within the scope of their talents

"and attainments. Let us hope that there may be no occasion ever to refer to this subject again."

Chaplain Hammond on this same point of personal labor, is quite proper and correct, but there is a sound healthy tone, a practical good sense, in the suggestions of Dr. Landis, which we have failed to discover, except occasionally, in the Army Chaplain's Manual. Every chaplain who has been with men in a campaign, will feel that Dr. Landis understands our position and gives good advice. We do not know that he could do anything like as well for hospital chaplains, and perhaps there is here another illustration of the wisdom condensed in the saying *ne sutor ultra crepidam*.

Bearing in mind this aphorism we shall confine our strictures to such parts of this work as have reference to chaplains in general, or where we happen to find anything of the kind, to chaplains in the field. And our first objection, not first by any means in the order of importance, but the first distinct issue that we made with the author when we took up his book to read it through regularly, is one that brings us into collision, not only with Mr. Hammond, but we fear also with the great majority of religious people in civil life. The Army Chaplain's Manual declares, not only plainly, but peremptorily, and with an air that indicates that the point is not to be called in question, that chaplains do not need and ought not to have any rank. We can not coincide with this view, though, as we have already intimated, we suppose the majority at home would at once agree to it. We suppose so because the religious papers that commended the Army Chaplain's Manual did not dissent from it on this point, and in no religious periodical have we ever seen the question discussed, or hardly ever even a passing allusion to it. The religious press must be accepted as indicating, if not controlling public sentiment upon all such topics. Our own connection with the service is too recent, and has not brought us into sufficient contact with those who may be regarded as controlling or even reflecting the feeling of the army on this point, to authorize us to speak either for officers or men. We have good authority, however, for saying that the question is often discussed, especially among thorough soldiers. It is not regarded as a matter unworthy of consideration, nor is it by any means so clear to the

majority of those who consider it, as it seems to be to Mr. Hammond, that the chaplain should have no rank. We can safely say for ourselves that we have never thoroughly discussed the question with any thoughtful person, in the army or out of it, who fully comprehended the sphere of a chaplain's duties, who did not believe a serious mistake had been committed in refusing him definite rank. Even where the first impression, without reflection, had been the other way, when the matter was attentively considered, invariably the conclusion has been reached that rank would at least be no disadvantage. We hope to show, with all due deference to the author of this book, and all who agree with him, that the contrary opinion is the result of want of consideration, or ignorance of the chaplain's place and duties. The ignorance of which we speak is, of course, mainly of that practical kind which arises from inexperience.

The first reason we would give why the chaplain should have rank, is that we have never seen any good reason why he should not. Every other officer, and we take it for granted the chaplain is, and ought to be an officer, has some rank. This principle extends to every branch of the service, to surgeons, engineers, pioneers, and all employed in the army, at least all who really *belong* to it. The chaplain's duties are no more unlike those of a colonel or captain, than are those of the surgeon. Then why not treat him as you do the surgeon? Let him perform only the duties appropriate to his office and his calling, let him be known only as the chaplain, but give him at the same time some military rank. Where is the harm? Why make a solitary exception of the chaplain? Chaplain Hammond tells us why. Let us see what he says:

"It can not, therefore, fail to exert an injurious effect upon religion
"and hinder the progress of the gospel, when those who are looked to as
"examples in humility and deemed to be above the love of earthly power
"and distinction, are found contending about questions of rank, and
"seeking to exert an authority which was never claimed by Him who
"has emphatically said, 'my kingdom is not of this world.' The chap-
"lain's business is to preach, persuade, reprove and exhort, but not to
"command, and it is a virtual lowering of his office, an apparent laying
"aside of the high and holy commission which he has received from
"God when he seeks to accomplish in any degree by means of military
"authority and rank, that which alone can result from the outpouring of

"the Holy Spirit on faithful and humble labors in the Redeemer's service."

But can not a man have rank, and at the same time be humble and above all sinful love of power and distinction? Must such an one be necessarily contentious about questions of rank? Was this the case with Commodore Foote? Is it so now with General Howard, General Burnside, and General Meade, and our other Christian Generals? Would Chaplain Hammond have us infer that this was or is true of him, who he himself styles, "that great and good man, General McClellan?" Surely rank does not thus affect one who is either truly great or truly good. The argument is that the chaplain should not have rank because it will make him haughty and jealous, at least this is taken for granted and lies at the foundation of all that is said. Then we say no Christian soldier should accept military rank, or seek advancement; if this be its necessary or normal result, he should shun it as he would a contagious fever. But we think a man may have a definite position in the service and be neither suspicious nor contentious about it. He may be as humble on horseback with a little star on his shoulder, as on foot with a heavy musket instead of the star. Chaplain Hammond must have been unfortunate in his association with those who have rank, if he has come to think that pride and contention are inseparable from shoulder straps. We have known scores of officers, from the highest to the lowest grade, some of them professing Christians, and some of them not, whose possession of rank has had no such unhappy effect either upon their morals or their manners. Can not a chaplain be humble and modest, and yet be regarded as legally upon a level with a captain or a lieutenant? Does Mr. Hammond mean to say that he is weaker than other Christian men? more liable to have his head turned by such ephemeral distinctions? "It can not fail to exert an injurious effect upon religion" if he is a proud, jealous man, whether in the army or out of it, whether with rank, or without. What is said about exacting an authority never claimed by our Lord, and seeking to accomplish by military authority what alone can result from spiritual influences, would be appropriate if a chaplain should seek to use his rank to oblige men to repent and be baptised. We have heard of a New York colonel, who, on learning that

the chaplain of a rival regiment had immersed half a dozen soldiers on the preceding Sabbath, immediately ordered his adjutant to detail fifteen men for baptism, but we hardly think any chaplain, even if you give him the rank of Major General, would follow the colonel's example. You might as well say the surgeon should not rank as Major, lest he endeavor to control disease by military authority, instead of the remedial agents which God himself has appointed and provides. This entire paragraph is based upon the principle, that there is one kind of humility for the Christian minister, and another for the Christian layman, one spirit for a chaplain and another for a colonel. Indeed the whole chapter is saturated with this feeling, which pervades the book. We need not stop to show the falsity of such an opinion. It is a most subtle and dangerous heresy, which is constantly plaguing and poisoning the church. It appears, and reappears in a thousand different forms, men who contend against one phase of it readily falling in with another. One temper of heart, and one rule of life, for all the Lord's people is the clear teaching of the book of God. True, there are proprieties varying with circumstances which every minister in or out of the army ought to observe. Chaplains should be wise to discover and prompt to observe those appropriate to their sphere. We have never been able to see how giving a chaplain rank would infract these proprieties or hinder his perception and observance of them.

Mr. Hammond says chaplains need no rank, that the chaplain "knows that a consistent walk in life, and a practical exemplification in himself of the holy precepts of the gospel, will secure for him, at all times, the respect of those with whom he is thrown in constant contact; that uniform kindness, gentleness, and an affectionate interest in the temporal and spiritual welfare of the soldiers under his care, will secure their love and esteem, and these will be always accompanied by obedience in all cases where obedience is desired." If this is good reasoning, if it be true in the army, why not in civil life? Would Mr. Hammond consent that ministers should be deprived of citizenship, disfranchised, denied the right of resort to the civil courts, and made to depend for respect and influence, and even for safety, upon uniform kindness, gentleness, and an affectionate interest in the temporal and spiritual welfare of their fellow citizens? Will not

a consistent walk in life secure for them respect at home? Surely Mr. Hammond must be aware that there are men all around the minister in civil life, who are kept from annoying and possibly injuring him, by the wholesome restraints of authority. Are no such men to be found in the army? Or do they lose all this evil temper in becoming soldiers? Ordinarily, no doubt, a chaplain will find that genuine kindness, and manly Christian conduct secure respect. Every chaplain will testify to the honor of our citizen soldiery, that the occasions are rare, and to him surprising, where he needs anything more. But it will not do to depend "always" and "in all cases" upon these. He may come in contact with those so degraded, or so intoxicated, as to be insensible to all his gracious qualities. Then let him have some authority that he may rightfully exert. We may be told that he is under the protection of the military authorities, and should apply to them in any emergency. But suppose they refuse, or, which is far more likely, and we fear sometimes happens, they neglect to aid him, shall he be utterly powerless? Ought he not to have some definite rank, with its appropriate place and legal rights upon which he may fall back in extreme and urgent cases. Ordinarily at home, a minister is protected by public opinion, and his personal character, but sometimes he finds those who have respect for neither. Or the lines fall to him in some unpleasant place where public sentiment is depraved and vitiated, where it is fashionable to annoy and ridicule, even to insult and injure pious people, especially ministers, and leading men themselves set the example. In such a place the minister may at times need to invoke the power of the law to secure respect and quiet, and he is a poor, weak man if, when necessary, he do not do so. Probably Mr. Hammond has never lived in such a place. We do not wish to see him suffer, (though our readers will imagine, we fear, that his book has worried us not a little,) still, before another edition of the Army Chaplain's Manual is issued, we should be glad if its author could spend a few months in some such benighted spot. Perhaps he would discover that in this wicked world, a consistent walk in life will not "at all times" secure respectful treatment from those with whom we come in contact.

It may be said that this reasoning is faulty because Mr. Hammond does not deny, and does not wish to deny, the chaplain the common rights of a citizen at home, and an officer in the

army. Chaplain Hammond, we observe by the way, ignores altogether the chaplain's position as an *officer of the army*, and this is no small part of our complaint against his book. We shall recur to it hereafter. But his argument in the paragraph under consideration, as also in the one previously quoted, is that the chaplain is to rely only on kindness, gentleness and a consistent life. We contend that this is a mistake. It might work well, and no doubt would, in a quiet, orderly hospital, where men's hearts were softened by suffering, or their bodies were so weakened by disease that they had no strength to be obstreperous or unruly. Just as the same theory might work well at home in some cushioned and carpeted church, or with a well-bred decorous congregation. But the chaplain in the field will sometimes feel his need of authority, and, if he be "the right man in the right place," will exercise it, if he can only be sure that he has a right to do so. The misfortune of his present situation without rank is that he does not know, and no one can tell him, what authority he has, or whether he has any.*

But we may be told that giving chaplains rank allows them not only the general rights of an officer, but some special privileges. We do not see that this is so, but we do not care to argue the matter. For the possession of some special privileges is neither unchristian nor unclerical. Paul asserted his rank when he told the Philippian sergeants that the magistrates had beaten him and his companion "openly uncondemned being Romans." He did the same thing when he told the chief captain Lysias, not in pride, but with true Christian nobility of soul, "I was free born." This was no common heritage of his race, much less of all men, but a high and rare distinction. There was no harm in having it, and certainly none in using it at the right time and in the proper spirit.

The ecclesiastical argument, if we may separate it from the Scriptural, is also in favor of rank. In all Churches of the Pres-

* Dr. Landis in his article takes the ground that the chaplain has both rank and authority. We are confident he does this without having examined the question, especially as to rank, and also because his own good judgment taught him that the chaplain ought to have them. He was too considerate and had too much experience to go astray on that point. Chaplain Hammond is right as to the fact, Dr. Landis as to the principle.

byterian and Episcopal families* the minister has rank. Some persons may be startled by this use of the word, they may dislike it in this connection. But it is plain that in all these churches the minister has a definite position with specific duties, different from, and some of them in their very nature superior to, those of the laity. He has his own proper place accorded to him by the laws of the church, on account of his supposed peculiar fitness to perform the duties belonging to that place. He has certain privileges and advantages that he may better perform those duties. This is precisely our idea of military rank. Its rights and duties, as is just and proper, stand in close and exact correlation. The higher an officer's rank, the graver are his responsibilities; the more difficult his duties the more severe and lofty the standard by which he is to be judged. The notion that rank is a trivial distinction, invented for the personal advantage of the man upon whom it is conferred, is a vulgar prejudice to which the chaplain of St. John's Hospital, United States Army, ought to be superior. We do not think General Grant or General Rosecrans, entertain any such idea. Nor do true soldiers anywhere. The rank of an officer is given him that he may better perform his duties, not for his own good, but for the good of the service. So, too, as we have intimated, the minister's place in the Church is given him for the same purpose. We see no harm in saying that he has rank. Certainly in all the churches of which we have spoken, the minister has authority. It is not true among them that the minister's "business is to preach, persuade, reprove, and exhort, *but not to command*," though it may be so in the Church to which Mr. Hammond belongs. We do not know with what body of Christian people he is connected, but we trust they would not indorse this denial of authority to the Christian minister. Has he not read so much as this, that Paul told Timothy to teach and command, and Titus to exhort and rebuke with all authority? Did not this same Apostle write to the Thessalonians, "We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labor among you, and are over you in the Lord?" and to the Hebrew Christians, "obey them that have the rule

* Under this title we include of course not merely the denominations to which these names are popularly applied, but all affiliated bodies, such as the Lutheran, German Reformed, Dutch Reformed and Methodist Episcopal churches, and all whose form of Government is of the Presbyterian or Episcopal type.

over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls?" Of course this authority is of God, and not man, spiritual and not earthly, not relating to worldly matters. This makes it none the less authority, which gives the minister the right to speak for God in the tone of command. And so the Church gives him rank, because God invests him with authority as an ambassador and a herald. We use the word rank of course in this connection in no invidious sense. Nor is there anything invidious in the use of it in the Army, at least not among good soldiers. The case of a minister in the Church and that of an officer in the army, are of course not precisely parallel; few things in this world are. But we wish to show that the idea of rank, of specific duties and special advantages for their performance, is not foreign to the religion of Him who was meek and lowly of heart.

Mr. Hammond says the question of rank is of little importance to the chaplain. Admitting this to be true, the question yet remains whether the interests of the service do not require that he should have rank. We think they do. Regard for rank, is a spirit which is and ought to be cultivated in the army. It is an element of strength, promoting, when rightly directed, order, discipline, efficiency, and everything that tends to make men good soldiers. The true soldier, no matter where his place, in the ranks or on the staff, understands and acknowledges this. You will not find him disparaging rank. Now, the present position of the chaplain is an anomaly. An officer, and yet not an officer, he depends for his influence not at all upon rank. His presence is a constant protest against the importance attached to rank. He is made to rely for influence simply upon his personal character. It is of the utmost importance, of course, that every officer should be a man whom soldiers can respect, should have a character worthy of his position. The promptness with which unworthy men are dismissed, shows that this is understood in our army; but is it not a mistake in an organization where rank is made so much of, where every one should be imbued with respect for it, to have, without rank, one who fills an important position, who needs respect and must have influence? Is not this saying in effect that it is a mistake to put such an estimate upon rank, and that military life is altogether artificial, founded on false notions of what is right and proper?

This is a dangerous position to assume, especially in our intercourse with soldiers. For the moment you take this ground you make the soldier *feel*, whatever you may say, that every time he salutes an officer, simply because he is an officer, he is acting a lie. His whole life as a soldier may thus appear to him unnatural, theatrical, a mere piece of acting. It would of course be a sad thing for a chaplain to be such a man that the soldiers have no respect for him, and pay only an outward deference to his rank. So it is as truly unfortunate (though of course not near so much so), for men to have a colonel or a captain who has not such a character as to inspire esteem. But suppose the chaplain is a faithful, laborious man, making no more show of his rank, and depending no more on it, than many a general does. Suppose he is humble and devout, suppose he has all the qualifications a chaplain ought to have, (and surely he may have all these and yet have rank too), will rank hurt him? Will it hinder his usefulness? Will it not be an advantage to the service to have the weight of his personal character thrown into the scale in favor of the soldier's respect for rank? If it be said that the men will think more of him, at least some of them, if he be without rank, we answer that this is one reason why you should give it to him. Not that you may lessen his influence, but that you may not set him in opposition to, and lessen the rightful influence of those in authority who must assert their rank. The argument answers itself. We must not encourage the feeling that a man is to be liked better because he has no rank. This would destroy the life and spirit of the army. We should rather encourage all to respect, not simply authority, but the position occupied by those in authority, a point upon which the American mind needs some training. This is not a servile temper, but a manly recognition of the fact that it is necessary and even better for some to command and others to obey. Giving the chaplain rank will promote this feeling, and we do not see how it can interfere with his spiritual functions. The number is small with whom he would have more influence if deprived of rank, and they do not belong to that class of men of whom good soldiers are made. Nor do we think they generally belong to that truly "better class" who were not far from the Kingdom of Heaven. The feeling, wherever found, is always unmanly and often sinful, the result of ignorance, or spite, or both com-

bined. Certainly it is a feeling to which the chaplain should never pander, and of which he ought not to be afraid. Whether with rank or without it himself, as the pastor of soldiers, he should inculcate and exhibit a proper respect for rank, and he need not fear it for himself. He can pray and preach just as well if he ranks as a captain or a major, as in his present anomalous position. Rank would in some respects be an advantage to him. It would put him at his ease, he would know just where his place was, just who had a right to control him.

By giving him rank we believe you will lessen his temptations. In his present relations to the service is he in no danger of seeking influence and power by unmilitary methods, in ways unbecoming an officer, even, if we do not add, in true martial style, "and a gentleman?" If you make him depend altogether upon "kindness, gentleness, and an affectionate interest in the welfare" of the men, are not these liable to degenerate into the low arts of a popularity hunter? Or may he not be tempted to assert for himself a position not accorded him by law, and exert an influence in virtue of his personal character, that will bring him into antagonism more or less direct with the commander of his regiment? Are we told to rely upon his Christian principle to prevent this? Then, we ask, why not rely upon that, too, to keep him from being haughty and jealous if you give him rank? In an organization where respect for authority is so vital and all-pervading, we think the former class of temptations more probable and more powerful, so that you show kindness to the chaplain by putting him out of the way of and above them, by giving him a definite place.

To test the soundness of this reasoning let us apply it to the case of the surgeon. We can not see that he needs rank any more than the chaplain. Many of the reasons why the latter should occupy his present position apply with equal, and some of them with added, force to the former. Suppose, then, you give the surgeon no rank. Evidently his position would be an uncertain, and so far an uncomfortable one. Obligated to depend for all influence upon his personal intercourse with the men, doing them the greatest favors, meeting them in the tenderest and most impressive moments, will he not be tempted to compensate himself for the manifest uncertainty of his position among the officers, by securing for himself a higher place in the

affections of the men? You secure him from this by giving him an assured place, letting him know just where he belongs and what he has a right to do. Do this for the chaplain, and you will help him, you will help the service, and you will hurt no one. Give the chaplain rank, and trust him as a man and a Christian that he "will not, for a moment, suffer questions of rank and position to draw off his heart from the work which is ever before him."*

If we are asked what rank the chaplain should have, we would say that of captain seems to us the most appropriate. This puts him on a level with the company commanders, and gives him free access to all the men. It puts him under the control of the field officers, and, as he ought to be, of the chief surgeon of the regiment. It is also about the rank that is indicated by the pay that he receives. But this is a matter that would not long trouble those in authority when once it is settled that the chaplain should have rank. This latter question we now leave, though we have not said all that might be urged in the affirmative. No thorough soldier, or considerate patriot, no thoughtful Christian will consider the matter as unworthy of his attention. Whatever is worth doing at all for our army, is worth doing well. The chaplaincy is so powerful, so useful and indispensable a branch of the service, that we can not afford to deny it anything that will increase, or attach to it, anything that will impair its efficiency.

We are not sure, by the way, but that even Mr. Hammond agrees with us as to the importance of rank. What mean those talismanic letters, M. A., attached to his name on the title page of the *Army Chaplain's Manual*. Not every chaplain has the right to adopt such a style. Does not Mr. Hammond expect us to receive his suggestions with more deference, when we see that he has risen to the dignity of *Magister Artium*? Do not these letters indicate literary rank? To us they look like a sort of collegiate shoulder-strap.

This brings us to what Mr. Hammond has said of the chaplain's uniform. In the main we agree with him, and should pass this point in silence, but that here, as in what he says of rank, he betrays a shrinking from shoulder-straps as if there

* *Army Chaplain's Manual*, p. 24.

were something unchristian about them. We think with him, that the propriety of having a plain uniform for the chaplain is apparent to all. He adds, however, that "There is a natural repugnance in the human heart at beholding a minister of Jesus Christ arrayed in all the habiliments of war, and wearing the insignia of military rank and authority *which does not belong to him.*"* But what if they *do* belong to him? We doubt whether this "repugnance" is altogether "natural." May it not be the result of education or thoughtlessness, or perhaps prejudice? And even if you prove that it is natural, this does not assure us that it is right. We do not know to what school of theologians Mr. Hammond belongs any more than with what church he is connected. From the general tenor of his book we should say he believed in original sin; or, as it is often popularly styled, native depravity. But here he seems to take it for granted that this "natural repugnance of the human heart" is, of course, praiseworthy. We want something more than its mere naturalness to canonize it for us. Mr. Hammond thinks the love of display manifested by some chaplains, in the earlier stages of the war, "has contributed much toward creating a prejudice against chaplains as a class." We are confident he over-estimates the force of this feeling. Certainly it did not create the prejudice against chaplains.

This prejudice existed before a solitary chaplain had put on "the habiliments of war," and has itself sometimes contributed to produce the "repugnance" at seeing them "wearing the insignia of military rank and authority." As a matter of taste we decidedly prefer a plain uniform for the chaplain. So that, when Mr. Hammond says, "the sight of a chaplain arrayed in the uniform of a captain, with shoulder-straps, and sword and belt, and sash and revolver, is one of rare occurrence," we do not complain. But we would ask him if there is any "sin *per se*" in wearing these insignia. If so, let no Christian colonel put them on. And we dislike very much to have him intimate that the chaplains thus arrayed have not been found "clear in their great office." It so happens that the writer of this article wears a uniform, just such as Chaplain Hammond says is in accordance with the order of the Secretary of War, and such as

*We are not responsible for the grammar of this sentence.

"may with propriety be worn." But he must say that some of the most faithful, humble, and laborious chaplains he has met, he found "arrayed in the uniform of a captain, with shoulder-straps, and sword and belt, and sash." The revolver he did not see, but he presumes it was somewhere in the neighborhood. And we can tell Mr. Hammond, from personal experience, that if his regiment were guarding railroad in a country infested by guerrillas, and he, if he would be faithful, obliged to go from post to post, often alone, he might find even such a carnal weapon as a revolver not altogether out of place. We think with our author that the question of dress is a matter of secondary importance, and are content with the uniform of a chaplain as at present ordered by the Secretary of War. But we never could see any objection to his wearing a neat, modest shoulder-strap, appropriate to whatever rank he might have. There is one reason, for the sake of others, why this should be done. It would serve as a protest against the foolish notion that other officers wear their shoulder straps out of weak or sinful vanity, and that there is something unchristian in such marks of rank. We do not wear shoulder-straps, and do not seek to, but we have no prejudice against them. In the army we are taught to respect them as signs of authority. This is no childish weakness, but the true soldierly feeling, a feeling to be encouraged and cultivated. As there is nothing unchristian in wearing such badges, so the greatest stickler for propriety can not show that there is anything unclerical in them. In some parts of the country every minister is expected to wear a white cravat. No one objects to this. It shows the possessor's place in society, just as the shoulder strap marks a man's place in the army. There is nothing in the adoption of either necessarily vain or sinful, though both may minister to the vanity of a weak mind.

Every other officer wears this badge of rank and duty. Why make a solitary exception of the chaplain? Surely no man will say that he is more liable than other officers to be tempted to a vain display. We grant that it is more offensive in him, and this is as it should be. But the true method of avoiding this disgust is to have the right kind of men as chaplains. We think, with Mr. Hammond, that the Acts of Congress now in force are sufficient to secure that result. We dislike to see the

Christian minister treated like a child who must have these toys put out of his sight, or at least out of his reach, for fear he will think too much of them. We might as well deny him by Constitutional provision the right to hold civil office, lest he should degenerate into a politician, as we believe has been done at times under the pretence of honoring the ministry, but, really, though perhaps not purposely, to their disparagement if not to their disgrace. Are we weaker than other Christians? Do we need to hang out any such flag of distress? You degrade the Christian ministry by such special enactments in its behalf. We protest against nursing so carefully him who is to be an ensample to the flock, treating him like some tender exotic, shutting him up that not the slightest breath of temptation may come upon the leaf that must not wither. Even the summer breeze of military insignia must not visit his cheek too roughly. Is this the way to make a Christian hero? Treat the minister as you do other men, treat the chaplain as you do other officers. True, you must guard him from temptation, and especially from those to which he is most liable, from those, as we have already intimated, that are most dangerous and most powerful. But there are some temptations from which you should trust him to keep himself. The genius of Christianity is to substitute for external restraint internal and personal self-control. This ought to show itself, and have a chance to show itself in the teacher of Christianity. If a Christian general is to wear shoulder straps and not be vain, let the chaplain show that he can do so too.

We are afraid that Mr. Hammond's method of weeding out all love of display in addition to its other faults is not likely to succeed. We are not sure that he himself is altogether free from a little harmless vanity. Why does he write his name, J. Pinkney Hammond, instead of John P. or James P., leaving us to guess what the P stands for, rather than envelope the letter J with such an air of mystery, while he parades the Pinkney before the eyes of those who have no such illustrious patronymic to exhibit? Some unfaithful chaplain, arrayed in captain's uniform, might quote for Mr. Hammond's benefit the saying of the Apostle, "Wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself."

But the secret, and no doubt unconscious inspiration of much

that Mr. Hammond says in regard both to rank and uniform, is, we fear, a deep seated conviction that the life of the Soldier and that of the Christian are, after all, really incompatible. Hence his constant aim, and that of those who agree with him, is to make the chaplain as unmilitary as possible. The Army Chaplain's Manual is pervaded by this disposition, and it is against this feature of the book that we desire chiefly to protest in the name of every thoughtful Christian soldier. The calling of the military man is not inconsistent with the practice of any Christian virtue, or the performance of any Christian duty. Some Christian graces seem to flourish best in camp. Many a chaplain, many a pastor at home, might sit at the feet of Havelock, or Hedley Vicers, or Foote, to say nothing of living Christian heroes. Yet these men were true soldiers. They valued rank in the proper way. They wore its appropriate badges, they enforced discipline. May not a chaplain do the same? We would make the chaplain a thorough soldier, as much so as the surgeon, the quartermaster, or the engineer. He need not drill any more than they do. But we would imbue him with the *esprit de corps* of the army. He should cultivate all the genuine martial virtues. They become Christian virtues when they are cultivated in the fear of God, and with an eye to His glory. The chaplain should not shrink from any emotion which other Christian men in the service may of right cherish or exhibit, on the ground that his calling as a minister forbids him to indulge such a feeling. We would not introduce him into the organization as a foreign element, as simply attached to it. We would guard against intimating, or in any way encouraging the slightest suspicion that he is out of place. We would not do so because we do not have this feeling in the slightest degree, and because any manifestation of it, however indirect, tends to weaken the moral force of the army. It makes the soldier feel, consciously or unconsciously, that his life is inconsistent with at least the higher Christian emotions. It thus makes him either despise the Christian faith or weary of his country's service. We need not stop to show that either feeling will impair his force of character. We complain of Mr. Hammond, not that he says the chaplain is out of place, but that he fails to regard him, and to teach the chaplain to regard himself, as a genuine soldier. We would cultivate this feeling. At least we would not discourage it, and, therefore, we would mark

the chaplain by his dress as a soldier, and an officer, distinguishing him from civilians as clearly as we would any other soldier. At the same time we would designate by his uniform the capacity in which he serves so plainly that he need never be mistaken for any other officer. But we would remind him, and every one else, by his very dress, that he was in the service, that he belonged to the army. We think this would be an advantage to him in his spiritual labors. The men would feel the identity of his interests with theirs. He would not use vain words when he called them fellow-soldiers. Every chaplain, in the field at least, has felt the importance of impressing this feeling upon those to whom he ministers. It is unfortunate for him when they feel that he is one altogether separate and apart from themselves. At the same time we think you sufficiently separate him as an ambassador for God by designating him clearly as the minister of the regiment, and by having no higher grade to which as chaplain he can aspire. There is and can be for him no promotion. The chaplain, so far as the service is concerned, must always remain a chaplain. "We must say to ourselves, I must all my life be doing the same thing without any change—without any extension of my worldly horizon."* Is not this enough to remind us and all men that we are "separated unto the Gospel of God?"

It is altogether in accordance with what seem to be Mr. Hammond's views of the chaplain's place that he fails to say a word of that officer's duty to maintain and enforce the discipline of the army. This is a point of great importance, which has been too much overlooked. The chaplain is not charged directly with the duty of preserving order, but he has much to do with it. All his influence and teachings ought to be on the side of habitual respect for, and implicit obedience to, authority. Neither he nor any one else should ever mistake his position on this point. Whoever else may exhibit a factious, murmuring or turbulent spirit, let the chaplain avoid the least approach to any such temper. No matter how much he preaches and prays, or rather the more he does of these so much the worse, if directly or indirectly he interfere with the maintenance of discipline. It is impossible to calculate the pernicious effect of his failure on

*Vinet's Pastoral Theology, p. 64.

this point. We regard it as a serious defect in a work of so much pretension as the Army Chaplain's Manual, that it does not state distinctly that the chaplain should teach and exhort all soldiers, both officers and men, to show a manly respect for the lawful authority of those who are over them, and to pay prompt obedience to all their lawful commanders. Especially let professing Christians be exhorted to thus adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour, and let the chaplain himself set the example. We have in this Manual a whole chapter upon the qualifications of chaplains, and another as to their "temporal duties," but not a word in either about helping to maintain discipline and good order. Why? Plainly because Mr. Hammond does not regard the chaplain as really *belonging to the army*—as truly a soldier.

Another important duty of a chaplain, especially at the present time, is to inspire our soldiers with confidence in the justice of our cause. He should seek to save them from the depressing feeling that their toil and hardship are a degrading drudgery. The surest way to accomplish this is to teach them that as soldiers they may serve the Lord Christ, and that they are fighting the battles of the Most High. This will make them respect their calling, will give them the highest strength both of endurance and of activity. Nothing can take the place of this feeling, that the Lord is on our side. He who has the slightest misgiving on this point, has no business in the army, certainly not now, as a chaplain. It is not enough for one who serves in this capacity to be satisfied that the nation's cause is just. His sentiments should be sufficiently pronounced to impel him to give utterance to this feeling upon all proper occasions, and in all proper ways. Especially should he labor to impress this truth, as the solace of all their sorrow and the support of all their weakness, upon the minds of all committed to his care. True, it is a part of his divine ministry to restrain and rebuke that savage, cruel temper, into which soldiers are apt to fall. But it is no less his part to cultivate enlightened Christian patriotism, removing men's doubts, and confirming their hopes of the justice and success of our righteous cause. He does not understand his calling if he does not give himself diligently and of set purpose, in season and out of season, to this great work. We regret exceedingly, not to find in the Army Chaplain's Manual, the faintest glow of patriotic ardor. Gustavus Adolphus,

at the battle of Lutzen, looked up to Heaven and cried, "Help, Lord, for we fight in thy cause." Neither in his prayers, nor in his hymns (with perhaps in the case of the latter a single, and that by no means a strong, exception), does Mr. Hammond manifest a similar feeling. The following sentence from the 102d page, so far as we can discern, stands solitary and alone, as the sole recognition of the chaplain's duty, as a soldier and patriot, to his country. "Let him never weary in well doing, both as regards the temporal as well as spiritual happiness of the soldier; for in keeping both of these objects ever before his mind, he is faithful to his trust, and does his duty both to his country and his God." In another place he speaks of the chaplain as preaching to those who have "girded on their armor for the defence of their country." In all the one hundred and forty pages of Mr. Hammond's own writing in this book, these two tame passages are the only approaches to a burst of loyal enthusiasm in the country's cause. We doubt whether any ordinary chaplain from the Potomac to the Mississippi, could write so much and say so little. The chapter on the qualifications of chaplains is long. We will not say it is too long, for we could bear to have it increased by the suggestion that the chaplain should cherish, both in himself and others, a patriotic spirit. At least some of its repetitions to which we have already referred, might have been omitted, and room thus made for the simple statement of this truth. But we would not insist even upon this. The feeling of which we speak might perhaps be best inculcated indirectly, and be more powerful if it ran through the book as a deep under tone. This is the most impressive, because it is the most natural way of manifesting such a feeling. For instance, we took from the writings of another chaplain a passage equivalent to some seven pages of Mr. Hammond's book to see in what spirit it was written, and we found no less than six distinct and emphatic expressions like the following: "Our sacred cause," "our gallant army," "our heroic soldiery." We should have been glad had we found more such expressions in the Army Chaplain's Manual. We are far enough from insinuating that Mr. Hammond doubts the justice of our cause, but he is singularly modest in manifesting his feelings. After the freeness and fullness with which he gives utterance to his Christian sympathies and convictions (all of which we admire), we

should look for him to reveal his patriotic impulses in somewhat due proportion. It must be that in this regard he puts some great restraint upon himself. We think the explanation to this silence is to be found in the fact that Mr. Hammond considers the indulgence, or at least the exhibition of this feeling as not becoming a chaplain. It is all well enough for a soldier, but in his eyes a chaplain is not a soldier. For the same reason he does not insist, he does not even assert, that the chaplain should seek to cultivate among the men the spirit of earnest, resolute, godly patriotism. It may be said that no considerate chaplain needs to be told that this is a part of his duty. He certainly needs to be told this as much as he does that he must study in order to preach well to soldiers, that it is well for him to have a library, a reading room, and a debating club in a hospital, to frank soldier's letters, to write for the sick, to correspond with their families, &c., &c. All these and similar suggestions are found in this book; they are wise and timely; we are thankful for them. But might not the duty of inspiring men with Christian patriotism find a distinct if not a prominent place in a work designed to supply "a want which has been long felt in the chaplain's department in the army?" The chaplain, if any such there be, who had neglected this part of his work, would have his attention called to it. He who had undertaken it would be encouraged and strengthened for its performance. At least Mr. Hammond might have given us some suggestions from his own experience as to how this duty could be best performed. How instructive, for instance, the following passage from an article to which we have already referred:

"I know of nothing which has so effectually opened the hearts of the men of my Regiment to my efforts to do them good, as little events like the following, which I trust I may be pardoned for briefly alluding to in the way of illustration. On several occasions, when at some of our stations we were momentarily expecting an attack from an overwhelming force said to be close upon us, I have lighted my pipe (for to my shame be it spoken that I have not yet abandoned the unjustifiable practice of smoking) and moved deliberately along the line of battle conversing familiarly with the men, or addressing them in words of cheerfulness and animation. On one occasion, as I remember, after some new recruits who had never met the enemy had been received, the camp was suddenly aroused at midnight and the men called upon to

form immediately for battle in view of an impending attack, and the gallant officer who commanded that portion of the line where the new recruits were stationed, observing that they appeared to be somewhat excited, called my attention to the fact, and requested me to speak with them. I did so, and after addressing them for a few moments found them not only calm and ready, but eager to evince their zeal in their country's hallowed cause."

We will not say that the chaplain will do more good, by such conduct, to the souls of his fellow-soldiers than by all his preaching; but we do not hesitate to express our profound conviction that he can preach no sermon that will not make a deeper impression and be more readily listened to if the men of the command to which he is attached are accustomed to receive, from their intercourse with him, such patriotic and courageous inspiration.

But we may be told that the Army Chaplain's Manual is a grave didactic treatise intended for permanent use in the army, that we are not to expect in it allusions to passing events, much less the popular phrases, the catch-words of the day. But if the book is to be of permanent value it should bear the impress of the times in which it was written, as all substantial contributions to a nation's literature are sure to do. We should prize it more highly hereafter, in quiet hours, if we found upon its pages traces of the tempest that is now sweeping over the land. And if ever this rule holds good it applies with greatly increased force to such a work as this. The book is itself an out-growth of the struggle in which the nation is engaged. It should bear witness to this fact in every fibre of its texture. But for the war it would not have been written, and if written, would certainly have found few readers. It was born of this crisis, if it have any value or significance at all; and if we had written it we should be ashamed to think that it bore no birthmark. We pity the man all of whose thoughts, even his thoughts of God and of Heaven, are not colored with the hue of the sad but glorious days in which we live. We give Mr. Hammond full credit for patriotic and loyal impulses, we are only sorry that he suppressed them.

In accordance with what we suppose to be Mr. Hammond's idea, that the chaplain is not a soldier, he intimates that that

officer should never engage in actual warfare. We have no great opinion of "fighting chaplains," so called; they are likely to be poor preachers and worse warriors. But true to our idea that the chaplain is a genuine soldier, we think exigencies may arise that would justify, nay require, him to take a musket or use a sword. Suppose he found himself among a handful of men, attacked or threatened by an overwhelming force. Is he to say, before any body is shot, my place is with the wounded and the dying? Suppose, as often happens, there are more muskets than men. Shall he let one lie idle, falling back on his professional dignity, and wait until his services in his official capacity are needed? We say, let him get down into a rifle pit, and take his chances with the men, and his preaching will do that much more good when the danger has passed away. We know several chaplains who, by pursuing such a course in some great emergency, have gained a lasting influence which they would have found it all but impossible to acquire in any other way, and which they never could have acquired if in the critical hour they had not acted just as they did. This is one of the ways in which the chaplain is to become all things to all men. True, his ordinary place, especially in a great battle, is with the wounded and the dying. But not any more so certainly than the surgeon's, and both of them, if they have the true feeling of soldiers, as they both ought to have, will sometimes be ready to fight. Certainly they will encourage their fellow-soldiers to fight, and will think it their duty to do so. And if these two, whose place and whose duties on the battle field are so nearly one, should find a broken and defeated column rushing back upon them, may they, or rather *must* they not seek to check the rout? And if, they helping to such a glorious result, the tide should turn, the soldiers rally, and they thus find themselves accidentally at the head of the column, would any one complain of them as out of place? We know that these are extreme cases, but they may occur, and we give them only to show that the chaplain may do, sometimes, what other Christians do regularly, as a part of their lawful calling. If he is never to do anything of the kind it must be because there is something intrinsically wrong in doing such things, and then no Christian may do them. Suppose, again, a chaplain meets a deserter, one whom he knows is a deserter, what shall he do? Give him a

tract, quote Scripture to him, endeavor by "kindness and gentleness" to win him back to his duty? Yes, if in this way he can accomplish that result, though we think he would find that "neither words nor grass" would be of much avail. It is the chaplain's duty, as an officer and a soldier, to bring the deserter back, no matter how, so he does nothing that is wrong. He might well be thankful if he happened to have a revolver with which in the last resort, he could drive the sneaking coward back where he belonged.

Mr. Hammond says, "though swift messengers of death may whistle around" the chaplain "even to endangering his life, he will heed them not if faithful to his duty, but will be totally absorbed in the glorious occupation of whispering in the ears of the departing soul the blessings of redemption." We have never been in battle, and do not know how chaplains feel on such occasions. We suppose that Chaplain Hammond has had some experience, or he would not speak with so much confidence. We hope we shall be thus totally absorbed, if ever we do get into an engagement, though we confess our faith is weak. But seriously, why put the chaplain up upon such stilts, so lofty and we fear unsteady? Give him the benefit of the Latin poets, "*homo sum*." He will feel no doubt very much as the Christian surgeon, the Christian captain and the Christian private do. Let him feel with them the common excitement of the struggle, the common anxiety for success. Cultivate and develop the feeling that makes him one with the whole body of the army. So far as this feeling influences him, it will lead him to devote himself all the more earnestly to the specific duties which belong to his own proper place. Not even the holier and more tender services of his sacred office will form any exception to this rule.

ART. IV.—STUDIES ON THE BIBLE, No. VI. *The First Gospel.**

Soon after our first parents had tasted the forbidden fruit, they were arraigned for trial before the Almighty. They answered separately. The answer of each began with an apology and ended with a confession of guilt. Their apologies were insufficient and shuffling. The man offered a plea which divided the blame of what he had done between his wife and her Creator: "The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat." The woman said: "The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat;" but she made no excuse for beguiling her husband. The serpent offered no defense; indeed, he was not interrogated. The Almighty then proceeded to pass judgment upon all the parties before him, following the order in which they had severally taken part in the transgression; that is to say: first on the serpent, next on the woman, then on the man.

Now, in the first of these judicial awards, to-wit: in the curse on the tempter, God said: "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." Gen. 3:15. In these words the Church has always recognized what has been variously styled the First Gospel—the first promise of salvation—the first Messianic Prophecy, or, as it is called in the schools, the *Protevangelium*.

An inquiry into the structure of the narrative must precede an examination of the First Gospel. Is the Mosaic account of the creation and apostacy of the human race a fable, or is it a myth, or is it a veritable history? And, if a history, is every part of it to be interpreted in a literal sense, or must particular portions be taken as allegorical? As to the essential character of the narrative, the skeptical critics have gone

* *Helps to the Study.* Calvin's Comm. on Gen., ch. iii; Fairbairn's *Typology*, i: 273-280; Hengstenberg's *Christology*, i: 1-20; Kurtz' *Old Cov't.*, i: 77-88; Turner on Genesis, 183-199; Kitto's *Cyclo. sub voce* Adam; Herzog's *Encyc.*, lb.; McDonald on Penta., ii: 275.

wild in their conclusions. Gabler pronounces the whole history "an absurdity." Eichhorn thinks our first parents brought death upon themselves by eating a poisonous plant. De Wette sees nothing in the fall but a transition from a state of innocence and inactivity to a state of cultivation and degeneracy. Kant and Schelling treat the origin of evil in man's nature as necessary to a complete development of the human being; and they hold the Biblical history of the fall to be a higher species of the fable. The general tendency of this school of criticism, however, is towards the mythical theory. This theory receives the narrative as a collection of legends, well told and well woven together, of the creation of the world, the origin of the human race, its primeval innocence and its fatal degeneracy; the whole colored over by the light of antiquity, and embellished by the creations of the imagination. This myth is, according to some, of Grecian, and, according to others, of Persian origin. The analogies in literature are the story of Romulus and the she wolf, and the chronicles belonging to the legendary period of Egyptian or Grecian history. According to this school of criticism a distinction is to be taken between the "form of the narratives and the ideas which they embody;" and it is the province of the Biblical student to separate, as best he may, the facts of history from the mythology and fiction under which they appear in the Pentateuch, even as the gold hunter culls the grains of gold from the drifts of sand and mud. This theory may be dismissed with three observations. First, if the Mosaic history of the creation and fall be mythical, there is no trustworthy account of these events in existence. So simple and artless is the narrative, so true to nature and reason are its ethical and psychological features, that if this be discarded, what other tradition, written or unwritten, of that early period is worthy of credit? Secondly, the historical value of the subsequent scriptures rests upon the verity of the first three chapters of Genesis. If that book describe a mythical apostacy, then the Gospels unfold a mythical redemption. Straus' conception of Christ is the logical sequent to Von Bohlen's notion of Adam. Thirdly, Christ and his Apostles have made themselves responsible for the strict veracity of

Moses. In what John says of the tree of life, he refers, without doubt, to the tree that stood in the garden of Eden. Rev. ii: 7; xxii: 2, 14. Christ described the tempter when he said: "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do, for the devil was a murderer from the beginning." John viii: 44. John also describes him as "the great dragon, that old serpent, called the devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world." Rev. xii: 9; xx: 2. "For," adds Paul, "we are not ignorant of his devices." 2 Cor. ii: 11. Still further, according to Paul, "Adam was first formed, then Eve;" "the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty;" "Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression;" "by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin;" "in Adam all die." 1 Tim. ii: 14; 2 Cor. xi: 3; Rom. v: 12; 1 Cor. xv: 22. These passages exhibit a compendious history of the fall—the tree of life in Eden, the serpent, the devil, his arts of deception, his access to our first parents, the order in which he proceeded—first beguiling Eve, then Adam, the entrance of death into the world, and the ruin brought on the race. Now, if Moses was a retailer of idle legends, what were the apostles? Were they the dupes of Moses, or were the apostles, as well as Moses, willful deceivers?

Those who accept the narrative as strictly historical in its form, are not perfectly agreed in the interpretation of certain parts of it. Some writers teach that the serpent itself was the real and only tempter, and not the instrument used by some other being more intelligent than itself. But this opinion is in conflict with several passages in the New Testament, which recognize the presence of another agent on the occasion. Some, again, maintain that the devil was alone engaged in the temptation, and that whatever is said in Genesis respecting the serpent is figurative or allegorical. This criticism is liable to the exception urged with so much effect by Bishop Horsley upon another point. If the reptile was an allegorical serpent, then the conversation between Eve and the serpent was an allegorical conversation, and the excuse offered by Eve was an allegorical apology. Why not carry out the idea by saying that "Paradise is an allegorical garden, the trees that grew in it, allegorical trees, and the rivers that watered it,

allegorical rivers?" The narrative, in all its particulars, bears the marks of a real history, and it is impossible, without doing violence to the language, to resolve any part of it into either a legend or an allegory. Accordingly the church has always held that the devil was the principal responsible tempter, and the serpent was his instrument. This is undoubtedly the sense of the Scriptures. The active, malignant agent was the devil; a statement which is sustained by the passages cited above from the New Testament, in which the devil is described as that old Serpent who deceiveth the world. Still further, in Rev. xii: 18, may be found a vivid description of the struggles between the dragon, or serpent, and the woman "which brought forth the man-child." The conflict between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent is here clearly recognized, and the fact is stated that the serpent is the devil. But in the seduction of our first parents, he used the reptile as his instrument; a statement which is sustained by the opening words of the narrative: "Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field;" by the terms of the curse: "upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life;" and by the language of Paul, quoted above: "the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty."

From the structure of the narrative, the transition is easy to the form under which its most conspicuous feature, the first Gospel, is revealed. On supposition that God, in his infinite mercy, would provide a way of salvation for the fallen race, and that his goodness would lead him to make it known very early to our first parents, it might be conjectured that he would convey the glad tidings in the form of a promise. Not so, however. He put the first Gospel into the bosom of the curse on the serpent. In its essential character and substance, it is an assurance of redemption to man; in manner and form it is an integral part of the sentence passed on his seducer. It took this form from the nature of the proceeding then pending. That proceeding was strictly retributive. God was engaged in the administration of divine justice upon the parties to the great transgression. Addressing the reptile, which had been employed as the instrument and organ of the tempta-

tion, God said: "thou art cursed above all cattle and above every beast of the field." Then addressing Satan, who was the real tempter, God said: "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." So strictly judicial, so stern and strenuous was the occasion, that its proprieties put upon even the word of salvation, the force and frown of a divine malediction on the enemy of souls!

It is to be observed, still further, that the contents of the First Gospel materially affected the judgments afterward pronounced separately on the woman and the man. What God said to the serpent, announced that the reign of grace was begun; what God said to our first parents, corresponded precisely to that gracious assurance; and his words to each of the three parties before him were in perfect harmony. This harmony appears, for example in the fact pointed out, as long ago as the third century, by Tertullian, that no curse was pronounced on either Eve or Adam. Only to the serpent God said: "Thou art cursed." God condemned the woman to multiplied sorrows and perpetual subjection, but he pronounced no curse upon her person. God condemned the man to sorrow and toil all the days of his life; he cursed the ground for man's sake, but not the man himself. Satan only was accused, not the victims of his subtilty.

This unity of purpose appears, further, in the intimation conveyed to each of the parties, to the effect that the lives of our first parents should be spared for a season. The original threat was: "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." When the guilty pair stood before their awful Judge, they had reason to fear the infliction of instant death. But when God said to the tempter: "I will put enmity between thy seed and her seed," they were warranted to infer that their lives would be spared until at least they should see the promised seed. This respite entered also into the judgment pronounced on each of them individually. To the woman God said: "In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children"—but then she should live to bring them forth; to the man God said: "In sorrow shalt thou eat of the ground"—but then he should live to enjoy the fruits of his toil. It was, however, a

respite, not a final pardon, for God instantly added: "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." Adam joyfully recognized his escape from immediate death. At the formation of his wife, he called her Woman—"because she was taken out of man;" but now he gave her a new name, Eve—"because she was the mother of all living." But how is this respite to be reconciled with the terms of the threat? The words were: "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die;" the respite actually granted to Adam was nine hundred years. The answer to this inquiry is to be found in the complex nature of the death which was threatened. This form of punishment is three-fold: the corruption of our whole nature, which is spiritual death; the separation of the soul from the body, which is temporal death; and the destruction of both soul and body in hell, which is eternal death. Now, spiritual death instantly followed the eating of the forbidden fruit, and therein the original threat was executed to the letter; the human body, also, became mortal and began to die, and therein the sanction was substantially enforced; while the infliction of eternal death was, by divine mercy, altogether withheld for a season.

The further notion of a probation for the human race was not obscurely conveyed by all these proceedings. The curse which was pronounced on Satan was, as has been remarked, withheld from our first parents. The sorrows of subjection and child-bearing laid upon the woman, the sorrows of ceaseless toil laid upon the man, do not, in strictness of speech, make up the entire curse of God upon the sinner; these are not the elements of the second death. The Almighty pronounced on the unhappy offenders, not the final sentence of the law, but, as Dr. R. J. Breckinridge has well defined it, "an interlocutory sentence, extending from the fall to the final judgment." Satan was left to perish in hell, without hope of escape or redemption; but as to the human race, the sentence of eternal death was adjourned over to another day; meanwhile a period of probation was granted, a saviour was promised, and the hope of salvation was set before them.

In the language of popular theology, the human race is said to lie under the curse of a violated law. But it is worthy of

consideration whether this is an exact statement of the case, and whether it would not contribute to a thorough exposition of the narrative of the temptation and fall, to accept as true, the remark of Tertullian quoted above. The penalty of the law in its first element, which is spiritual death, has been both pronounced and inflicted on every man. That penalty, in its second element, which is temporal death, has been pronounced but not fully inflicted on the living. The same penalty in its third and bitterest ingredient, which is eternal death, has been neither pronounced in form nor inflicted on any man now alive. This last is the very curse of the law, and the word of the Lord uttering it upon even the wicked, is reserved unto the great day. As to the righteous portion of the race, it will be forever true that, in this strictest and most terrific sense of the term, they were never accursed of God; and as to the wicked, it will be forever true that, so long as they lived, they were not under the curse, but their probation was complete. Not until the resurrection of the dead, will the execration that fell on the devil in the beginning visit those who serve him. "Then shall he also say unto them on his left hand, Depart from me *ye cursed* into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." Matt. xxv: 41. The seed of the serpent will then, for the first time, share in the malediction originally inflicted on the devil, and go away to the place originally prepared for him and his angels. A similar line of thought terminates in the conclusion that the Son of God was not, by virtue of his relation to our first parents, brought under the curse of the law; even as by virtue of his supernatural generation he escaped the contagion of original sin. He was undoubtedly under the curse, but, let it be observed, he "was *made* a curse for us." Gal. iii: 13. That is to say, the curse of the law, which he bore in our behalf, did not inevitably attach itself to his person through his participation in human nature, but was laid upon him by a special ordinance of God, in the form of imputation, when he undertook to make satisfaction to the divine law.

But what was the import of the First Gospel? This is, by far, the most important topic within the range of this inquiry and ought to be well considered. By the terms of the Gospel

in the first place, Satan is condemned to a state of supreme debasement and contempt. "Thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life." The effect of this sentence upon the reptile and its effect upon the real tempter, should be separately described. Many commentators, both Jewish and Christian, have held that the serpent suffered a thorough physical and organic degradation under the anger of God. He was originally furnished with wings; he was provided with legs; he was a flying seraph, according to the use of the Hebrew word *nahghash*, in Numb. xxi: 6; "he did not go upon his belly, but moved upon the hinder part of his body, with his head, and breast, and belly upright;" "he did go with his breast erect as the basilisk at this day doth;"—these are some of the conjectures which may be found in the books. Milton, who touches nothing that he does not adorn, writes that the serpent approached Eve:

"not with indented wave,
Prone on the ground as since; but on his rear,
Circular base of rising folds, that towered
Fold above fold, a surging maze! his head
Crested aloft, and carbuncle his eyes;
With burnished neck of verdant gold, erect
Amidst his circling spires, that on the grass
Floated redundant; pleasing was his shape
And lovely."

If Maimonides has character enough to bear out the statement, an old Jewish gloss teaches, that "the serpent was an animal as large as a camel, that it might be ridden on, and that Sammael, which is another name for Satan, rode on it when Eve was deceived." These suggestions go far beyond the record. They involve not merely a loss of wings or legs to the serpent, but a supernatural change in its anatomical structure. No such change is directly indicated in the Scriptures; it is not established by any good and necessary conclusion from their general tenor; nor is it forced upon the student by the absence of a better explanation of the facts. Such an explanation is proposed by Calvin, to the effect that the serpent was originally created to go

upon his belly and eat dust; that it was now simply remanded to its former prostrate condition; and this condition became by Divine appointment, and in the unalterable conception of the human mind, a token of perpetual infamy. This opinion proceeds upon the laws which control the association of ideas. A striking analogy is to be recognized in the shame which overtook the human pair at the apostasy. While they stood in innocency they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed. So soon as they had sinned their nakedness became associated with the consciousness of guilt, and they were overwhelmed with shame. This sentiment has in human nature the force of an instinct. While the naked condition of the domestic animals does not offend the modesty of the most refined, the nakedness of the human body shocks the sensibilities of the rudest. In later ages, the cross was at first not only the instrument of torture, but the emblem of infamy; yet, afterward, it became the symbol of transcendent honor and glory. These changing phenomena of thought and sensibility are wholly subjective. What Milton calls "the first naked glory" of the human body was not changed to vileness in Paradise; nor was the cross transformed into an object of consummate symmetry at Calvary; but these both, like the prostrate condition of the serpent, became unalterably associated with sentiments of shame or honor. So much for the effect of the curse upon the reptile. Its effect upon the actual tempter, the devil, was to subject him to everlasting shame, abhorrence and contempt. He had used the serpent as his tool, and now in the condition of the animal, Satan should recognize his own position in the scale of being. Even as the serpent is more abject and disgusting than any beast of the field which the Lord God has made, so Satan is the basest and most despicable member of the whole rational creation.

Secondly, the First Gospel contains an absolute, but indefinite promise of salvation. It has pleased God to unfold, gradually, through long ages, the plan of redemption. The promise now under examination is the earliest of a series of revelations which become, as they proceed, more definite and precise. The ultimate victory of the kingdom of light over the kingdom of darkness is predicted in the First Gospel, and the assurance is added that this victory shall be won by the seed of the woman. But who are the seed of the woman? The

expression bears a three-fold meaning. It may signify the whole human family, for Eve is the mother of all living. It describes more definitely the righteous portion of the race: "The good seed are the children of the kingdom." Matt. xiii: 38. In its most exalted sense it is predicated of Christ, who was no less the SEED of the woman than of Abraham. Gal., iii: 16. Now, the First Gospel puts no precise definition on the expression; it does not state whether the victory shall be won by the human race, considered as a whole, or by a particular and gifted portion of it only, or by one adorable Person. Nor does it designate the time when the great conqueror shall appear, to bruise Satan under his feet. The region of the earth, and the race in the midst of which this redemption shall be wrought out, are not fore-shown. The modern believer, looking at the subject from his own point of view, interprets the promise as of one, even Christ, and of the body whereof he is the head, even the church. This great truth was, if one may so say, infolded in the promise, but was not unfolded by it. The whole economy of salvation was there potentially, as the tree with its trunk and spreading branches is potentially in the germ, together with its many annual crowns of foliage, and its wealth of flowers and fruits oft-repeated and redundant. Accordingly the best modern interpreters receive the promise in its most general signification. "Even according to this interpretation," says Hengstenberg, "the passage justly bears the name of the *Protevangelium*, which has been given to it by the church. It is only in general terms, indeed, that the future victory of the kingdom of light over the kingdom of darkness is foretold, and not the person of the Redeemer who should lead in the warfare, and bestow the strength which should be necessary for maintaining it. But anything beyond this we are not entitled to expect at the first beginnings of the human race. A gradual progress is observable in the kingdom of grace as well as in that of nature." Calvin gives more prominence to the Messianic idea, and so reaches a sounder interpretation. "I explain, therefore, the *Seed* to mean the posterity of the woman in general. But since experience teaches us that not all the sons of Adam, by far,

arise as conquerors of the devil, we must necessarily come to one head, that we may find to whom the victory belongs. So Paul from the seed of Abraham leads us to Christ; because many were degenerate sons, and a considerable part adulterous through infidelity, whence it follows that the unity of the body flows from the head. Wherefore, the sense will be, in my judgment, that the human race, which Satan was endeavoring to oppress, would at length be victorious."

Thirdly, redemption was promised not only to the first man and woman, but to their posterity likewise. "I will put enmity between thee and the woman"—an assurance, in its primal sense, personal to the woman: "and between thy seed and her seed, it [her seed] shall bruise thy head"—an assurance unto her posterity. It is to be observed that the grammatical forms used here, to-wit, *seed* and *it*, point to the unity of the human race; for he said not *seeds*, as of many, but her *seed*, as of one. The sin of the first parents had ruined the race descending from them by ordinary generation. Their children, when born, would find themselves exiles from Paradise, destitute of the divine image and the divine favor, subject to sorrow and toil, and to the dissolution of the body, and liable to death eternal. Now, by the terms of the First Gospel, a victory over the tempter was promised to the race. The inseparable relation of Adam to his posterity in vital and important elements of this transgression, its punishment, and the promised deliverance, is here most distinctly asserted; indeed, the doctrine of headship is a point more squarely put than almost any other part of the case. The student of the Bible may, without further debate, accept the conclusion that if he would comprehend the true sense of the Scriptures, he must take with him the principle that God's promises to the representative men of the race, such as Adam, Noah, Abraham, David, are promises as well to their seed after them. The human family is not made up of separate and independent beings, like a rope of sand, but is held together in unity by a common nature, by descent from one and the same stock, and by the tenor of the divine covenants and promises. What has been sometimes called a "federal theology," roots itself in the very constitution of the human being in the essential and

primordial principles of the First Gospel, in the covenant of works which was revealed before that gospel, and in the covenant of grace which was first made manifest therein.

Fourthly, God put perpetual enmity between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent. Instead of the friendliness and fellowship which had existed between the parties at the forbidden tree, there should be an unceasing antipathy and conflict. This prediction has received one form of fulfilment in the relations which have existed between the righteous and the wicked portions of the race. That the righteous are the seed of the woman appears from the words of Christ quoted above: "The good seed are the children of the kingdom." Matt. xiii: 38. The wicked are denominated by the same authority the seed of the serpent, the children of the devil. Said Christ to the blasphemous Jews: "Ye are of your father, the devil." "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers." John, viii: 44; Matt. xxiii: 33; xiii: 38. The hostility of the wicked towards the righteous began in the murder of Abel; it appeared again in the successful attempt of the posterity of Cain to debauch the posterity of Seth by the marriage of "the sons of God," the Sethites, with "the daughters of men," the Cainites. Gen. vi: 2. It reappeared in the indecency of Ham; in the hatred of Esau towards Jacob; in the outrages inflicted by the Egyptians upon the Israelites; in the attack of the Amalekites upon the exhausted rear of the Hebrews in the wilderness (Deut. xxv: 17, 18); and in the long and dreary wars waged for a thousand years upon Israel by all the heathen tribes dwelling between the Euphrates and the Nile. This enmity has been perpetuated ever since. Persecution has in all ages worn out the saints of the Most High God, and the meek but courageous disciples of the Lord have to this day resisted unto blood, striving against sin. But it has been a contest of skill as well as a violent onset. The devices which the adversary employed in Paradise to seduce our first parents did not exhaust his subtilty. He has inspired his seed on earth with the spirit, and armed them with all the weapons of his far-seeing malignity; so that the seed of the woman must stand not only against the merciless assaults but against the wiles also of the devil.

But this conflict was carried into a higher sphere. One of the most luminous points of view which is presented in Gospel history brings under inspection the antagonism between the Son of God and the Adversary. Christ came to destroy the works of the devil, and his incarnation gave a decisive turn to the long war between the "seed of the woman" and the "seed of the serpent." Christ understood this to be one main part of his mission, for he said: "Now is the judgment of this world; now shall the prince of this world be cast out." John, xii: 31; Compare, xiv: 30; xvi: 11. By the incarnation, the heads of the two opposing kingdoms came into personal collision. This struggle colored the whole course of the life of Jesus. It began early, even at the very threshold of his mortal career. Doubtless at the instigation of the devil it was that Herod sought the young child's life. The Adversary renewed the assault at the beginning of Christ's public ministry; immediately after his baptism, Jesus was in "the wilderness forty days, tempted of Satan." Here the parties met face to face. The devil recognized the person of Christ, for he said: "If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread." Christ recognized the presence and person of the tempter, saying: "Get thee behind me, Satan." The malignant enemy retired, but only for the time being. The Son of God instantly exchanged the terrors of starvation in the wilderness and the solicitations of the adversary for the society and ministry of angels; yet, as Luke significantly remarks: "When the devil had ended all the temptation, he departed from him *for a season*." The foul fiend approached him, again, in the persons of the Pharisees, even as he had seduced the woman under the form of a reptile. Christ was at no loss to trace their malice to its infernal origin. He said to them: "Ye are of your father, the devil; and the lusts of your father ye will do: he was a murderer from the beginning." John, viii: 44. And because the Pharisees had encouraged the devil to identify them with the serpent in the garden, allowing him to put them to the same base uses, Christ pointed out both the dishonor and damnation into which they were plunging: "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?" Matt. xxiii: 33. Still

further, the devil, if he did not arrange, certainly entered personally into the conspiracy to put Christ to death. John traces his agency in the plot step by step. Nearly a year before the crucifixion Jesus said to his disciples: "Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil? He spake of Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon; for he it was that should betray him, being one of the twelve." Before the last supper the devil had "now put it into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray him," and, at the supper, "when Jesus had dipped the sop, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon, and after the sop, Satan entered into him." John, vi: 70, 71; xiii: 2, 27. The supreme crisis in the struggle occurred during the passion. As he entered into it Christ exclaimed to his enemies: "This is your hour, and the power of darkness."—Luke, xxii: 53. The sufferings of Christ were infinitely mysterious, and the Evangelists treat them with a reserve which ought to be sacredly respected. But it may be fairly inferred from their statements that at this turning point in the affairs of heaven and earth, the "powers of darkness," knowing that their "hour" was come, marshaled all their forces, in hideous array, they fell upon their victim with indescribable fury, and mingled horrid ingredients in the cup of bitterness which he prayed might pass away from him.

This direct and personal collision between the Prince of Peace and the Prince of the Power of the Air, explains certain peculiarities in the four gospels. The frequency of demoniacal possessions in the time of Christ, the importance attached by the Evangelists to the miracles by which the devils were cast out, the minuteness with which both the symptoms and supernatural cure of the malady are described, and the careful record that is made of the words spoken by Christ and by the unclean spirits, are phenomena peculiar to the Gospel history. Such possessions occurred very rarely in the Old Testament period; they ceased almost entirely at the death of Christ, and have in modern times, as is commonly supposed, wholly disappeared. All this is explained by the fact that the life of Christ was the critical period in the conflict between the two seeds announced in the First Gospel. To the end that his Son might utterly destroy the works of the devil, God was

pleased to loose the adversary for a little season and so bring on the final struggle. Hence, the astonishing multiplication at that time, of demoniacal possessions and the frightful power which they exercised over the souls and bodies of their victims, are to be referred to the divine appointment. The space assigned to this class of miracles in the gospels, enabled the Evangelists to show that Christ was always, without fear or failure, the conqueror of Satan. The repeated instances in which the Son of God rebuked the unclean spirits by name, and in which the unclean spirits addressed the Son of God by name, show that the parties were met face to face, and that in the person of Jesus the Adversary recognized the Son of God, and the Son of God in his turn detected the presence of the Adversary in the madness and convulsions of the victims. And, once more, the refusal of Christ to receive the testimony of the foul spirits to his Messiahship—for “he suffered them not to speak, *because they knew him*,”—shows that he came not to be witnessed unto by the Adversary, but to subdue him, to put him to shame, and to bruise him under his feet. Mark, i: 34; iii: 12. Luke, iv: 41. The whole course of this part of sacred history is a thorough commentary on the First Gospel. It explains also the joy of the seventy disciples and the remark of the Master: “And the seventy returned again with joy, saying, Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through thy name. And he said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven.” Luke, x: 17, 18.

Fifthly, in this conflict, the seed of the woman shall suffer much, but shall finally triumph. “It (the seed of the woman) shall bruise thy *head* and thou shalt bruise his *heel*.” A comparison is presented between a vital organ, the head, and an organ remote from the seat of vitality, the heel; a crushed head, which is a mortal wound, contrasts a bruised heel, which is a curable wound. The heel of the woman shall be injured, it shall suffer much, perhaps intensely; the head itself of the serpent shall be bruised, and so the serpent get his death-blow. It can not be doubted that the righteous portion of the human family, who are, in the widest sense, the seed of the woman, are a suffering people; neither will it be doubted, by those who accept as true, the revelation, and promises of the divine

word, that they shall finally triumph. "As it is written, for thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter. Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us." "And the God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly." Rom. viii: 36, 37; xvi: 20. The application of this promise to the person of Christ will appear in the sequel.

Sixthly, the First Gospel is to be received as a Messianic prophecy. Its intimations are that the Saviour shall be a man, and yet more than a man, that he shall be, in a most peculiar sense, the seed of the woman, and that he shall be at once a suffering and a triumphant Redeemer. He shall be a man, the seed of the woman; a partaker of her flesh and blood; a true man, therefore, having a human body and a reasonable soul. But, again, he shall be more than a man. He who had destroyed our first parents was greater than they, and could not, in his turn be overcome, except by one who is greater still. Now he who shall finally put in subjection the conqueror of man, must be supreme, not only over the conquered race, but the conquering adversary. The prophecy points out, therefore, not obscurely, the superhuman, if not the divine character of the coming One. Next it is intimated that the Messiah shall be the seed of the woman, severally, not of the man and woman jointly. "*Her* seed shall bruise thy head." The inscrutable idea of the "seed of the woman," as in some way distinct from that of the man, would not probably be recognized among the contents of the First Gospel, except in the light shed upon it by subsequent revelations. The word of Jehovah through Isaiah to king Ahaz, contained a restatement of the mystery, in plainer terms: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel." Is. vii, 14. Even this prophecy was susceptible of another interpretation. But when the fullness of time was come, and God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, then was divulged the mystery that lay hidden in those old prophecies respecting the seed of the woman and the child born of a virgin mother. The Creed expresses the truth in one of its aspects: "He was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the virgin Mary;" Archbishop Usher in another: "As man he was without a father, as God without a mother." Once more, the First Gospel reveals a truth which is a primal doctrine in the final

gospel, also, that the Redeemer should be a suffering and a triumphant Messiah. He should receive a bruise in the heel but he should bruise the head of the adversary. Christ was a suffering Messiah. Otherwise he could not save his people. He must be tempted of the devil, persecuted with incessant and masterly enmity by the serpent's seed, betrayed by one into whom Satan should enter with that very intent, and finally be put to death by a conspiracy, in which evil men were the instruments and the devil the living soul. Yet, after all, it was by the suffering of death that he triumphed over him that had the power of death, even the devil. Here was unfolded the inmost sense of the bruised head and bruised heel of the First Gospel. The path of the conqueror led through the ignominy of the cross and the gloom of the sepulcher, to his crown and kingdom. He led captivity captive, and spoiled principalities and powers, making a show of them openly. He seized the kings of the earth that set themselves and the rulers that took council against him, and broke them with a rod of iron, and dashed them in pieces like a potter's vessel. And to complete his triumph, "He laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years and cast him into the bottomless pit." Rev. xx: 2, 3. Ps. ii: 9.

Seventhly, the established connection between the salvation of the righteous and the destruction of the wicked is set forth in the First Gospel. Nothing short of a deadly wound, inflicted upon the serpent, even a bruised head, can give the victory to the seed of the woman. This is no ingenious deduction of the theologians from the terms of the First Gospel, but it is a settled principle, clothed with the force almost of a law, in the Divine administration. Not only was the drowning of the old world associated, in point of fact and time, with the rescue of Noah, but the instrument of punishment for the wicked was the means of escape for the righteous. The flood that destroyed the ungodly, bore Noah and his family safely upon its bosom. These were saved not *from* but "*by* water," "the like figure whereunto even baptism doth now save us." 1 Pet. iii: 21. The escape of righteous Lot from Sodom was instantly followed by the rain of brimstone and fire upon the cities of the plain. The emancipation of the Hebrews from bondage in Egypt, was effected by a series of

desolating plagues upon their enemies; the departure of Israel, God's first born Son, was closely joined with the death of the first born of the heathen; and at the Red Sea the double process of the salvation of the people of God and the destruction of his enemies was made complete. The final settlement of the promised seed in the promised land, involved the extermination of the foul and filthy inhabitants of Canaan. A thousand years afterwards the release of the Jews from captivity in Babylon, was brought about by the capture of the city and the slaughter of the impious Belshazzar. In the reign of Darius, Daniel was taken unhurt out of the den of lions, and his accusers were instantly cast upon their hungry jaws. The work of Christ also proceeded on this principle. He came to destroy and to save. The prophet Isaiah declared that the Messiah would publish not salvation alone but salvation linked in with perdition: "He shall come to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, *and* the day of vengeance of our God." Is. lxi: 2. John the Baptist resumed the strain: "He will gather the wheat into the garner, but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire." Matt. iii: 12. Nor did the Son of man, when he came, fail to assert the principle in its broadest application. In the parable of the tares and the wheat it is written: "In the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them; but gather the wheat into my barn." Matt. xiii: 30. In the fall of Jerusalem, the few believers who were in the city, being warned of God, escaped from the impending catastrophe, while the scoffing multitudes, who remained, perished in the horrors of the siege. Traces of this double process appear in the work of the Holy Spirit upon the hearts of believers. There is a slaying and a making alive: "Our old man is crucified with Christ;" "and they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts;"—that is the slaying. "You hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses and sins;"—that is the making alive. "Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord;"—there is the whole work in both its parts; the seed of the serpent is extirpated and a holy seed is implanted in the heart. On the day

of judgment the salvation of the righteous and the destruction of the wicked will walk hand in hand together throughout the whole company of the risen dead. To some Christ will say, Come ye blessed, to others, Depart ye cursed. The eternal song will begin, and at the same moment the eternal wail. The people that are in heaven will say Alleluia, and on the instant the smoke of Babylon will begin to ascend. Rev. xix: 1-4. Comp. Matt. xiii: 41-43.

Such are the leading features of the first gospel. This survey of them, however, suggests an inquiry to which some attention ought to be paid. To what extent did Adam and his immediate posterity apprehend the contents of this revelation? They did not stand in the light cast upon it by the subsequent revelations, especially those of the New Testament; what conceptions had they of the promised Seed? In reply, it may be said, that the modern believer is not in a condition to estimate, accurately, the sum of saving knowledge possessed by those who dwelt among the shadows of the old dispensation. One of the apartments, in the Capitol of modern Rome, contains several master-pieces of antique sculpture; among them is the Dying Gladiator, and the celebrated statues of Zeno and Antinous. Let it be supposed that several parties visit this room at different times: one in the early gray of the morning, another on a misty day, and a third under a perfect artist's light. Let it be supposed, further, that the last named visitors have received the most vivid impression of the noble bust of Zeno, that they have nearly fainted in sympathy with the reeling marble of the gladiator; what just conceptions could they form of the impressions made by those wonderful compositions upon persons who had seen them only in the twilight or under a gloomy morning? In like manner, it is not possible for the Christian student, by any mere mental process, to determine the precise amount of knowledge deduced by our first parents from the terms of the First Gospel. Much that is plain to him may have been hidden from them. As a further reply, evidence might be produced showing that our first parents were enabled, by faith, to apprehend the general tenor of evangelical truths and promises. The name given by Adam to his wife, the names given by Eve to her three sons,

Cain, Abel and Seth, are received by many sound critics as exponents of a true faith in the great salvation. From the use which they made of skins for clothing, it is fair to infer that they instituted the bloody sacrifice, as an act of worship, immediately after they had received the promise. To these remote indications of saving knowledge, in that early day, it to be added the fact that God made many important revelations to the antediluvian believers, which are not recorded in the Pentateuch. Respecting the departure from this life of Enoch, the seventh from Adam, it is said: "he was not, for God took him." For aught that appears in this exposition, God may have taken Enoch by death, as he took Adam; and for aught that further appears, neither Enoch nor his contemporaries had information of a future state or a general judgment. But towards the close of the New Testament, Paul states that Enoch was translated; an act of God which was in itself a revelation of another life and of the redemption of the body; and Jude preserves the substance of one of Enoch's prophecies, whereby both the fact and the character of the general judgment were plainly divulged to the men of his generation. (Jude, 15.) To what extent these primeval revelations proceeded, in what measure the saving truths now preached to all the world out of the New Testament were made known to these early friends of God, are questions which can not be determined. The student of the Bible should be careful not to conclude too much from the silence of Scripture; else, as an old Scotch divine was fond of saying, one might be tempted to affirm that Joab had no father, forasmuch as the name of Zeruah only, his mother, is recorded.

If the contents of the First Gospel have been truly exhibited, in the preceding pages, it is evident that this remarkable revelation presents the exact point of view from which the tenor of all the subsequent revelations ought to be surveyed. It is the genesis of the whole plan of salvation, not only as its beginning in the order of time, but as its germinal principle in the way of development; the foundation on which rest, both historically and doctrinally, all the other scriptures and the entire economy of redemption. It holds a direct relation, for example, to the

other Messianic promises. No fewer than seven of these promises were given between the fall of Adam and the reign of David. The First Gospel introduces the series. Afterwards, Noah, speaking by inspiration, said: "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem." "He [the Christ] shall dwell in the tents of Shem." Gen. ix: 26, 27. To Abraham God said: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." Gen. xxii: 18. The dying Jacob prophesied: "The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be." Gen. xlix: 10. Balaam spake, saying: "There shall come a star out of Jacob and a scepter shall rise out of Israel."—Numb., xxiv: 17. The word of God to Moses was: "I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee." Deut. xviii: 18. Said Nathan to David: "Thine house and thy kingdom shall be established forever before thee; thy throne shall be established forever." 2 Sam. vii: 12-16. This catena of Messianic promises exhibits several note-worthy characteristics. First, they were made, with a single exception, to representative men, in distinct recognition of the principle of headship so often asserted in the Scriptures. Adam was the progenitor of the race and its federal head; Noah its second father and a contracting party to one of the divine covenants; Abraham the father of the faithful and a contracting party to another and greater covenant; Jacob the patriarch of the promised seed expatriated, for a season, from the promised land; Moses was the leader and commander of the people; and David was the founder of the royal line of Judah. Next, these promises served to mark the great epochs of sacred history—the fall, the flood, the call of Abraham, the descent into Egypt, the close of the wandering of Israel in the wilderness, and the reign of the first theocratic king. Each of these points of time is a stage in the progress of events and is illuminated by a distinct promise of the Messiah. Again, four of the prophecies were uttered in the most gloomy periods of the patriarchal history; and so became lights shining in dark places. The apostacy of our first parents plunged the race into an estate of sin and misery apparently remediless; but a remedy was immediately made known in the terms of the First Gospel. Another apostacy all but total occurred; the race, eight souls excepted, was destroyed by the flood; but Noah, standing almost

alone amidst the ruins of the old world, was inspired to utter a new Messianic prophecy. Then afterwards, two of those groups of nations, Japheth and Ham, forgot God in their dispersions; and soon Shem, which was the line of promise, established idolatry on the banks of the Euphrates. Josh. xxiv: 2. God once more interposed, appointed Abraham to found the visible church, and gave to him the third promise of a Saviour. About two hundred years later, when the people of God were exiles in the land of Egypt and were about to experience hard and bitter bondage from the heathen, God opened the lips of Jacob to utter, in the word Shiloh, the name of the Prince of Peace. The last three of the seven promises were published in brighter days. Moses spoke of a Prophet like unto himself, and Balaam saw his star and his scepter, just before Israel crossed the Jordan; and the promise was communicated to David at the most brilliant period of his reign. Lastly, these several promises increase in fullness and clearness as the series proceeds. The First Gospel gave a general assurance of victory to the seed of the woman, and added nothing more. Noah revealed the fact that this deliverance should appear in the Shemitic race. God's word to Abraham was to the effect that the salvation should spring up in the bosom of his seed and flow thence unto all nations. Jacob made known, for the first time, that this redemption should come in the person of One, even Shiloh, rather than through the labors of some holy and favored people working or suffering together upon the problem. Moses foretold his divine wisdom as a prophet. Balaam foretold his majesty as a king, for he saw a star come out of Jacob and a scepter rise out of Israel. Finally, God confirmed to Nathan, the prophet, the vision of Balaam, and added the intimation that the future king should come in the lineage of David and should sit upon the throne of that monarch as king in Zion. Meanwhile the office of Christ as high priest had been set forth typically, in the person of Aaron and in his services at the altar. The substance of the seven written and the one typical prophecies taken together is a victorious Redeemer coming in the line of Shem and of the seed of Abraham; Saviour of all nations; one Saviour, not many; a prophet like unto Moses; a king of the royal line of David, and a priest like unto Aaron. All these truths were expanded and expounded in the written and spoken

predictions which were uttered during the reign of David and after his death; and these make up the complete Christology of the Old Testament.

The right interpretation of the First Gospel leads directly to the right interpretation of the genealogies of Scripture. These registers are very numerous and extensive; not less than one hundred may be counted in both Testaments. From the large spaces assigned to them, and from the uses to which they are put, it is certain that the sacred writers attached great importance to these parts of the record. It may be well, therefore, to gather up, with patience, the rays of light cast upon them by the First Gospel.

These tables may be distributed into several classes. The first and most important class begins with our first parents and proceeds, with unbroken continuity, to the birth of Christ. Abstracts of these registers are incorporated into the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. Matthew, writing for the Jews, traces his lineage back to Abraham, for salvation was of the Jews, and the promise to Abraham was, "In thee and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." Gen. xxii: 18. Luke, writing for the Gentiles, continues the genealogy to Adam, showing that Christ was the seed of the very woman to whom the first promise was made. The two Evangelists trace his ancestry through different lines as far as David, upon whom both unite, showing how the Lord God gave unto Jesus, as he had promised, the throne of his father David. Luke, i: 32. The same tables show the process by which the side branches of the line of promise were successively broken off through the period of forty centuries. Adam begat sons and daughters; yet they all and their posterity, are excluded from the register of Christ's genealogy, Seth only being retained. From the children of Seth the table adopts Enos only, and from the sons and daughters of Enos, Cainan; and so onward to Noah, the main stem is preserved, while all the collateral branches are left in oblivion. In Noah's family, Shem obtains a place in the favored line, while Japheth and Ham, with the multitudinous peoples that sprang from their loins, go away into far countries, like the younger son in the parable. From the children of Shem, Arphaxad only is

taken, his other sons and daughters are left. The same rule, taking one and leaving many, is enforced on the five following generations down to Nahor. Out of all his offspring, Abraham is selected. Abraham had three wives and as many families of children, but the sons of Hagar and Keturah are all set aside, and in Isaac his seed is called. Next, Jacob is chosen and Esau is rejected. Jacob's twelve sons are jointly accepted as the seed of promise; but it soon appears that the lineage of Christ falls into the tribe of Judah; in the after ages, the single family of Jesse is segregated from all the families of that powerful tribe; out of Jesse's many sons, David is taken, and out of all the sons of David, Solomon and Nathan alone. Thence onward, for a thousand years, the genealogies of Christ make sure their separate way through the tumultuous mass of humanity, like currents in the midst of the sea, until at last they converge upon Joseph and Mary. The registers are not more instructive in the names they contain than in the names they reject. The principle of a divine selection everywhere appears, and a scheme of unbroken descent, from Adam to Christ, is wrought out, which has no parallel in history.

The genealogies of the second class establish the fact that all mankind descended from one man and one woman. This truth is fundamental to the scheme of revealed religion; it points out the indissoluble connection between the lost estate of all mankind and the disobedience of their common progenitor, and it demonstrates that the seed of the woman is the Saviour of the entire race, because he partook in the flesh and blood of every family and every member thereof. Accordingly, in the history of the antediluvian period, both the line of Seth, which was the line of promise, and the line of Cain, which was the line of the serpent's seed, are brought down in the tables, to the days of Noah, in order to show that both lines sprang from Adam the first father, and were recapitulated in Noah, the second father of the race, and consequently all that were in the ark, even if the blood of Cain ran in their veins, were of one and only one, original stock. The tenth chapter of Genesis, the most valuable and comprehensive ethnographical chart in existence, sets forth the dis-

persion of the nations and their distribution over the earth. Then the genealogies of the Old Testament, taking their departure from that remarkable document, bring down, through several generations, the pedigrees of those by "whom the nations were divided in the earth after the flood." Gen. x: 32. These registers complete the historical proof of the unity in origin of the entire race. It is not improbable that Paul spake not only by the Spirit of inspiration, but out of a thorough study of these tables, when he expounded the subject both to the Greeks and the Romans, the representatives of the two pagan civilizations in Europe. To the Greeks he said: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth." Acts, xvii: 26. In his epistle to the Romans, he demonstrated, on the basis of this fact, the ruin of the race in the first Adam and its recovery in the second Adam, the Lord from Heaven.

A third series of these registers traces the process by which certain branches which were broken off from the line of promise, were, after the lapse of many generations, grafted again into the lineage of the Saviour. Lot, for example, was an offshoot of the Abrahamic stock, and his posterity, Moab and Ammon, were aliens from the holy covenants. But the pedigrees of these races show that Lot's remote posterity, through both its branches, returned into the line of the promised Messiah. Boaz, a direct descendant of Abraham, married Ruth, a daughter of Moab; and the mother of Rehoboam was Naamah, an Ammonitess. Ruth, iv: 17-22. 2 Chron. xii: 13. In like manner, it appears from the tables that Tamar and Rahab, both Canaanitish women, were on the one hand, through Ham, the daughters of Noah, and on the other, by marriage respectively with Judah and Salmon, ancestresses of Christ; like some of the bayous of the river Mississippi, which leave the channel and flow apart through many a league, traversing cypress swamps and gloomy forests, and then draw near and return again to the parent stream. Even Matthew, although writing for the Jews, introduces into his register the names of three of these heathen women, as if to give all possible publicity to the fact that the blood of

the older Gentiles had found its way into the veins of the Seed of the woman.

Yet another set of these tables elucidates that part of the First Gospel which describes the enmity put between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent. Cain, in the family of Adam, and through the antediluvian period, Cain's posterity, represented the serpent's seed. The murder of Abel, and the corruption of all flesh through the evil example of the Cainites, fulfilled the parable of the bruised heel; the total extermination of the Cainites as a race by the flood fulfilled the parable of the bruised head. Ham represented, in Noah's family, the serpent's seed, and the genealogies, in the tenth chapter of Genesis, trace his progeny down to the kings and people of Egypt and to the kings and people of Babylon, who in their generations oppressed the people of God and then ignominiously perished. Ishmael, in Abraham's household, and Esau, in Isaac's household, occupied the same hostile position towards the seed of promise. According to the registers, Ishmael who mocked Isaac gave existence to many of the Bedouin tribes which infested the Southern border of Palestine. But what is more remarkable, Esau's line is distinctly traceable first to the Amalekites, who through all their generations cherished an inextinguishable hatred towards the Israelites, and then down to Herod the king, who in his day "sought the young child's life." How completely the prophecy of the bruised heel and the bruised head was fulfilled in the crimes and penal sufferings of the Amalekites and of the Herods is well known to the reader of the Scriptures.

Now the relevancy of these genealogies to the First Gospel indicates, in part, their real value, as integral portions of the inspired records. Critics there are, who are shallow enough to thrust them aside as mere rubbish. Too many of the devout readers of the holy word consider them wearisome and uninteresting. Some who profess to be students of the Bible, deal with the first nine chapters of the Chronicles, very much as some who profess to be students of Homer, deal with the last four hundred lines of the second Iliad: they deliberately "skip" page after page. The church is, in a large measure, responsible for this state of things. Rarely, indeed, if ever, are these portions of Scripture expounded or even read in the house of God by the ministers of churches which have no liturgy; and even

the church of England excludes, for the most part, the genealogies of the Old Testament from its admirable "Table of Lessons of Holy Scripture." This general neglect of the subject ought to prevail no longer. These genealogies are profitable for instruction. When well considered, they open fresh and attractive fields of inquiry; they reveal unexpected side-lights and pleasing surprises; and solve not a few difficult problems in sacred history.

ART. V.—*The New Life of the Redeemed.*—PART II.

THE fundamental conception of true religion, the religion of the Bible, is a new life. Christianity has its doctrine, its moral law, and its perfect exemplification of that law; but in its inner nature, it is neither a system of doctrine, nor a rule of moral conduct, nor an example of perfect moral excellence. It is a life in Christ and with Christ, who is the sum and substance of doctrine, duty, and example. He is himself the way, and the truth, and the life; and the life which springs from union with him, is the holiness of truth,—the doctrine of Christ actualized in the intellectual and emotional nature of the believer; and its spontaneous actings can not be otherwise than conformable to the rule of rectitude and the perfect example of Christ. "My little children," says the apostle Paul, "of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed in you." It is Christ within, informing the soul of man, and Christ exhibited outwardly in the daily walk and conversation; all completely realized only in the resurrection estate, when this mortal shall have put on immortality in the world of glory. Here the new life is imperfect: step by step the soul advances to that lofty goal which is reached only when it is reunited to its own body, in the morning of the great day of Jesus Christ. That body, though now mouldering in the grave, is still united to Christ. At his omnific word it shall come forth from the dust of the tomb, and, in virtue of its union to him, be made like unto his glorious

body. Now, "we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glory to glory;" then, in our entire humanity, "when he shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is."

The *mystical union* lies at the foundation of enlarged and Scriptural views of the new life, and possesses, therefore, a central significance in this discussion. It is decisive of the nature of that life, and holds a most important relation to the fundamental doctrines of salvation. Yet (for what reason it is unnecessary now to inquire particularly), the mystical union has well nigh lost its place in the theology of the church, whatever may be true of the schools. Much, indeed, is heard from the pulpit of the union of believers to Christ; but for aught that appears to the contrary, nothing more may be implied than a spiritual sympathy of the soul with Christ, or, which is probably more commonly intended, a covenant relation to him as our federal head. The insufficiency of the statements touching this important truth, may arise from the practical and objective cast of our popular religion and theology. The subjective and contemplative aspect, so characteristic of the religion of a former age, has been obliterated by the attrition of the tumultuous world outside. The mysteriousness, too, of the subject may repel investigation, or induce a certain degree of hesitancy in speaking of it. Mystery, however, enshrouds the doctrine of the Trinity, the Incarnation, in a word, all the distinctive doctrines of salvation. But, whatever may be the reason, it is certainly the fact that the pulpit is generally silent on the mystical union; and, as a necessary consequence, it is either dying out of the faith of the church, or the conception of it is bald and inadequate to the last degree. Nevertheless, it is of the very heart of evangelical religion and theology; and it is well to remember that no surer method to develop rationalistic modes of thought in the popular mind could be adopted, than for the pulpit either to be silent, or to give a feeble and hesitating utterance, on the peculiar themes of the Christian revelation. "The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light." The policy of the leading Unitarians of Massachusetts, in the beginning of the present century, was a

specimen of this worldly wisdom. Ignore the substantive doctrines of the Gospel, and the belief of them will soon fade away. A negative theology is the bane of the church and the world. The positive annunciation of the testimony of God concerning his Son Jesus Christ, is the capital idea of preaching.

In presenting a statement of the doctrine of the Mystical Union, so far at least as the nature of the case admits, it will be most satisfactory to give it in the words of approved divines, and those of our own day and country. The statement will thereby gain authority, and at the same time avoid the suspicion of being framed to serve a purpose. Moreover, the charge of mysticism will not lie against them. For whatever may be true of men of other ages and countries, it will not be alleged that the divines of our own church here quoted, are infected with the spirit of the mystical philosophy. Our first quotation is from Dr. Breckinridge's Second Part of Theology, Subjective, p. 114:

The union of this whole body, (*i. e.* the invisible Church), and of every member of it, with the *person* of Christ, is a mystical union, that is a real and spiritual one; and the manner of its occurrence is also mystical, but yet real and spiritual; so that the body itself, and its union with Christ, and the manner in which that union is effected, are all of one and the same nature. There is nothing metaphorical in the case, much less anything imaginary: neither is there anything physical or corporal. But nevertheless it is real, regard being had to the things united: for while the Apostle admits it to be a great mystery, he asserts the fact that our nature, soul and body, are united to the soul and body of Christ, for we are declared to be members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones: nay, in a certain sense, the church is the very body of Christ, and each *saint* a particular member of that body: and they are all made partakers of the divine nature.

On page 205 is an intimation, by no means obscure, of the transcendent nature of the new life in and with Christ the Mediator:

God himself is most holy; and the restoration of man to the lost image of his Creator—and the predestinated conformity of the elect to the image of the Son of God—can mean no less, *how much soever more they may mean*—than their recovery, not only of the knowledge, but of

the righteousness and true holiness of creatures having the image and likeness of God, and conformity to the image of his Son.

In the Princeton Review for the year 1848, vol. xx, is an elaborate and very instructive review of Dr. J. W. Nevin's work on the Mystical Presence. It is violating no propriety to say it is attributed, and correctly, as we suppose, to Dr. Hodge. The extracts here given, necessarily longer than could be desired, are taken from pages 228-9 and 266-7. There will be occasion to refer again to this article.

"But the Scriptures teach that our union with Christ is far more than this;" i. e. far more than one merely moral, arising from agreement and sympathy. "It is a *vital* union; we are partakers of his life, for it is not we that live, but Christ that liveth in us. It is said to be *analogous to our union with Adam*, to the union between the head and members of the same body, and between the vine and its branches. There are some points in reference to this subject, with regard to which almost all Christians are agreed. They agree that this union includes a federal or representative relation, arising from a divine constitution; and on the part of Christ, a participation of our nature. He that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one. On this account he calls them brethren. Inasmuch as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same. (Heb. ii: 11-14). It is in virtue of his assumption of our nature that he stands to us in the intimate relation here spoken of. It is agreed, further, that this union includes on our part a participation of the Spirit of Christ. It is the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, who is the Spirit of Christ, and dwells without measure in him as our head, who dwells also in his people, so that they become one body in Christ Jesus. They are one in relation to each other, and one in relation to him. As the human body is one by being pervaded and animated by one soul, so Christ and his people are one in virtue of the indwelling of one and the same Spirit, the Holy Ghost. It is further agreed that this union relates to the bodies as well as the souls of believers. Know ye not, says the apostle, that your bodies are the members of Christ; know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, who dwelleth in you? The Westminster Catechism, therefore, says of believers after death, that their bodies, being still united to Christ, do rest in their graves until the resurrection. This union was always represented as a real union, not merely imaginary, nor simply moral, nor arising from the mere reception of the benefits which Christ has procured. We receive Christ himself, and are in

Christ, united to him by the indwelling of his Spirit and by a living faith. So far all the Reformed at least agreed. Pp. 228-9.

According to the Reformed church that union is not merely moral, nor is it merely legal or federal, nor does it arise simply from Christ having assumed our nature; it is at the same time real and vital. But the bond of that union, however intimate or extensive, *is the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, the third person of the Godhead, in Christ and in his people.* We receive Christ himself, when we receive the Holy Spirit, who is the Spirit of Christ; *we receive the life of Christ when we receive his Spirit, who is the Spirit of life.* Such we believe to be the true doctrine of the Reformed church on this subject. Pp. 266-7.*

In the Westminster standards, the definition of this union is found in the answer to the sixty-sixth question of the Larger Catechism: "The union which the elect have with Christ is the work of God's grace, whereby they are spiritually and mystically, yet really and inseparably, joined to Christ as their head and husband; which is done in their effectual calling."

Several points in these summaries need to be distinctly noted. (1). The mystical union is *real*; not metaphorical, much less imaginary; not merely *moral*, nor merely *legal* or *federal*. (2). It is *spiritual*; not physical or corporal, yet it relates to the bodies as well as the souls of believers. Their bodies share in the benefits of it. They are temples of the Holy Ghost.

(3). It is *vital*: we are partakers of the life of Christ. *It is analogous to our union with Adam.* And as the mystical union is declared to be not merely legal or federal, the analogy here has respect to Adam as our natural head, from whom we descend by ordinary generation, and thereby become partakers of the same corrupt human life with him after his fall. So, in virtue of our union with Christ, not merely federal, but vital also, we are made partakers of his life. We are his seed.†

* The authors are not responsible for the Italics in these quotations.

† In commenting on 1 Cor. vi: 17, *But he that is joined unto the Lord is one Spirit*, Dr. Hodge remarks, "That is, has one Spirit with him. This does not mean has the same disposition or state of mind, but the same principle of life, the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is given without measure unto Christ, and from him is communicated to all his people, who are thereby brought into a common life with him."

If he is simply a perfect man, then we derive from him simply a perfect human life; but if he be very God as well as very man, then we derive from him a divine as well as a renewed human life. In Adam we all die—are under the dominion of death, though living souls. In Christ we are made alive; the dominion of death is removed. And not only so; but grace abounds. It does not stop with discharging the penalty of the violated Covenant of Works. The nature and method of the remedy forbid that it should. There is an abounding fulness and efficacy and glory in the grace of Him whose name is Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Father of Eternity, Prince of Peace. By means of the remedy which grace provides and applies, “not only is the restoration of man to be made complete, but he will be exalted far beyond what he could have attained, if he had never fallen.” (Breckinridge’s *First Part of Theology*, p. 486.) This exaltation consists in the communication of the divine in the second Adam, to whom the believer is actually and inseparably joined in his effectual calling, having been in him from everlasting as a party in interest to the Covenant of Redemption.

The profoundest naturalists divide all organized bodies into three great classes, called kingdoms; viz., vegetable, animal, human. Each has its own peculiar life, and in addition, embraces the life or lives of all beneath it. To the first belong the functions comprehended under nutrition and reproduction; to the second, sensibility and the power of motion, added to the preceding functions; to the third, and in addition to what belongs to both the other classes, a higher and wider range of intellect, conscience, and articulate language. Were we obliged to specify some one grand differentia of the third class, it would be conscience—the perception of right and wrong, and the feeling of moral obligation. The *λογος ενδιδθετος* and the *λογος προφορος*; ratio and oratio (of which, too, there are indications in the inferior classes), sink far below the *συνειδησις* both in dignity and characterization. Designating each class by its peculiar life, we predicate of the first vegetable life; of the second, animal; of the third, moral. “The plant lives; the animal lives and feels; man lives and feels and thinks.” This is the order of things in the natural world; this the progression in the ascending

scale of life; this the order in time of the original creation. First comes the plant, then the animal, then man. Upon vegetable is superinduced animal life, and upon both these the moral life of man. Now, in the regeneration, in the new and spiritual creation, there is another advance—a culminating manifestation of creative wonders. Upon all the kinds of life enumerated above, is superinduced a fourth, to-wit, the divine life. Man mounts upward to the skies; nay, he ascends above the skies into the heaven of heavens. In this sublime ascent he leaves the angels far behind. Joined in an ineffable and inseparable union to the Son of God, he enters into the holiest of all, whither also Jesus the forerunner hath gone. In this lofty rise, however, man sloughs off whatever of the inferior kinds of life may be incongruous to his higher functions and new relations. He enters upon the full realization and fruition of the great salvation, with a sublimated animal life and a spiritual body.

(4.) A fourth point, and one deserving special attention, is the relation of the Holy Spirit to the mystical union. "The bond of that union is the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Godhead, in Christ and in his people. We receive Christ himself, when we receive the Holy Spirit, who is the Spirit of Christ; we receive the life of Christ, when we receive his Spirit, who is the Spirit of life." There is something, then, far other than simply an influence of the Holy Ghost upon the soul of man, disposing and enabling it to receive, embrace, and love the truth of God, thereby bringing it into communion and sympathy with Christ and all holy creatures. There is something, too, more than a merely sustaining power of the Spirit, watching as a faithful guardian round about the soul, averting evil, inciting to good, and upholding it in its integrity. All this is true, but is not all the truth. There is an actual indwelling of the Holy Ghost, the third person of the glorious and blessed Trinity. Let the import of this statement be carefully considered. There is not a divine influence merely; not merely a power exerted *ab extra*; but a real, personal indwelling of the Holy Ghost. He takes up his abode with the redeemed. The Spirit, given without measure to the Redeemer of God's elect, is also their heritage. "The Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove" upon the Saviour at his baptism, and "abode upon him." Thus was he anointed and inaugurated for his mediatorial work.

Here the life of the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, in its active official sense, begins. And the Spirit that descended and abode upon him, comes upon and abides with his people. They also receive the baptism of the Holy Ghost. It is this common indwelling of the Holy Ghost, the third person of the Godhead, that makes the Saviour and his people one. Herein the household of God is distinguished from all other intelligences in the universe, and lifted high above them. The indwelling of the Spirit of God can be predicated of no other beings. It is not true of angels; it was not true of man in his primeval state. It is the peculiar prerogative of redeemed men—their crowning glory and unfailing security. Whatever may be the work or influence of the Holy Ghost touching other rational creatures, he *dwells* in none other than these. Let it be observed, moreover, that the unity constituted by the common indwelling of the Holy Ghost, is a unity of life between Christ and his saints. "We receive the life of Christ when we receive his Spirit, who is the Spirit of life."

The life-union of the second Adam and his spiritual seed, is further confirmed and illustrated by the nature and design of the Lord's supper. One chief end of this sacrament is to exhibit and confirm the union of believers with their adorable head. And it seems impossible for human language or earthly symbols to exhibit the intimate nature of that union more clearly or more emphatically.

The active and even acrimonious discussions between leading divines of the Lutheran and Reformed communions, at the Reformation period, form a most interesting chapter of ecclesiastical history. Subordinate differences of opinion prevailed among the Reformed themselves; and the object of the article in the Princeton Review, from which quotations have been made above, is to educe the true doctrine of the Reformed Church from the writings of her most distinguished theologians and the confessions of her faith. Those discussions turned upon the nature of Christ's presence in the sacrament, and the manner in which his body and blood become effectual to believers. But there was a remarkable unanimity respecting the great truth exhibited, and the effect of truly receiving the body and blood of the Lord: and

this is all that concerns the present argument. The following brief statements from some of the symbolical books of the Reformed and the writings of him who is *facile princeps*, and which are found prepared to our hand in the article just named, comprise what is sufficient for this occasion :

"*What is the effect of receiving the body and blood of Christ?* In general terms it is answered by saying, that union with Christ, and the consequent reception of his benefits, is the effect of the believing reception of the Lord's supper. In the Basel confession, it is said, 'So that we, as members of his body, as our true head, live in him and he in us.' The Geneva Catechism says the effect is 'That we coalesce with him in the same life.' The Scotch Confession says, 'We surely believe that he abides in them (believers) and they in him, so that they become flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones.' The Heidelberg catechism has much the same words, adding, 'and ever live and are governed by one Spirit, as the members of our body by one soul.' The Second Helv. Confession says, the effect of the Lord's supper is such an application of the purchase of Christ's death, by the Holy Spirit, 'that he lives in us and we in him.' So the Aug. Confession and others." (Princeton Review, 1848, p. 254.)

On page 240 of the same volume, are found the following question and answer from the Heidelberg catechism :

"*What is it then to eat the crucified body and drink the shed blood of Christ?* It is not only to embrace with a believing heart all the sufferings and death of Christ, and thereby to obtain the pardon of sin and eternal life ; but also, besides that, to become more and more united to his sacred body, by the Holy Ghost who dwells both in Christ and in us ; so that we, though Christ is in heaven and we on earth, are notwithstanding, flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones ; and that we live are governed forever by one Spirit, as members of the same body are by one soul."

On pages 233-4 are the following extracts from Calvin :

"Now this sacred communication of his flesh and blood, by which Christ transfuses his life into us, just as if he penetrated our bones and marrow, he testifies and seals in the holy supper ; not by the exhibition of a vain and empty sign, but by putting forth such an energy of his Spirit as fulfils what he promises. What is thus attested he offers to all who approach the spiritual banquet. It is, however, fruitfully received

by believers only, who accept such vast grace with inward gratitude and trust. * * * * In the sacred supper we acknowledge it a miracle, transcending both nature and our own understanding, that Christ's life is made common to us with himself, and his flesh given us as aliment."

On pages 236-7 occurs this passage:

"In the Scotch Con. of 1560, the language of Calvin is in a great measure retained. The only sentence that need be quoted is the following: 'We confess that believers in the right use of the Lord's supper thus eat the body and drink the blood of Jesus Christ, and we firmly believe that he dwells in them, and they in him; nay, that they thus become flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones. For as the eternal deity gives life and immortality to the flesh of Christ, so also his flesh and blood, when eaten and drunk by us, confer on us the same prerogatives.'"

The distinguished writer subsequently sums up (pp. 255-6) the sense in which the Reformed church teaches that believers are flesh of Christ's flesh and bone of his bones, on this wise:

If it be asked, however, in what sense that church teaches that we are flesh of Christ's flesh, and bone of his bones? the answer is, in the same sense which Paul says the same thing. And his meaning is very plain. He tells us that a husband should love his wife as his own body. He that loveth his wife loveth himself. His wife is himself; for the Scriptures say, they are one flesh. All this, he adds, is true of Christ and his people. He loves the church as himself. She is his bride; flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones. If the intimate relationship, the identification of feelings, affections, and interests, between a man and his wife, if their spiritual union, justifies the assertion that they are one flesh, far more may the same thing be said of the spiritual relation between Christ and his people, which is much more intimate, sublime, and mysterious, arising, as it does, from the inhabitation of one and the same Spirit, and producing not only a union of feeling and affection, but of life.

These testimonies are too perspicuous to be misunderstood; and they all conduce to one and the same conclusion. The life of Christ, the God-man, our Mediator, is our life; not the life of the Redeemer's human nature, nor of his divine, but that of the entire Christ, both God and man. It is the life of him who has two distinct natures though but one person. The inhabitation of the Holy Ghost, the third person of the

Godhead, is that which produces and ever upholds this life, by communicating and applying to us the body and blood of Christ. We are members of his body, flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones. We live by one and the same Spirit, dwelling in him and us, and are governed thereby as the members of the same body by one soul. The union of life between Christ and his people is much more intimate, sublime, and mysterious, than any analogue existing among earthly relationships. The union of husband and wife is but a shadow of it. The head and members of the same natural body are not more really actuated by the same vital force, than the mystical body of which Christ is the head. The vine and its branches partake not more really of the same life-principle than do Christ and his people; constitute one organized whole not more really than they.

Yet, intimate and real as this life-union is, it involves no fusion of Christ's personality with the persons of his people. Adam and all his posterity descending from him by ordinary generation, make up one race, one organic body. All sinned in him and fell with him in his first transgression. They are partakers of the same corrupt nature with him; yet he and each one of his race are distinct personalities. So it is affirmed of Christ and those who, being in him, receive from him the spiritual regeneration. He and they are of one life; yet he and each of them retain their proper individuality.

But so far is the testimony of the Scriptures on this subject from being exhausted by what has already been adduced, that the most remarkable class of texts remains to be considered. As with the Redeemer's love for his people, so with this ineffable union and oneness of life between him and them. When Jehovah's love for his saints is said to exceed even the love of a woman for the fruit of her womb, the climax of all human and terrestrial analogies is reached, and even that found inadequate. Nay, the whole creation of God, celestial as well as terrestrial, fails to supply a similitude competent to illustrate the length and breadth, and depth and height, of the love of Christ which passeth knowledge. We must pass beyond the bounds of earth and time, and rise high above the most august of created beings, to gain the object of our search. We must

enter the innermost sanctuary of Divinity itself. There, *there* alone, in the boundless affection subsisting from all eternity between the almighty Father and his co-equal and co-eternal Son, is found the sufficient analogue of the divine Redeemer's love for his people: "*As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you!*" (John, xv: 9). What a word is this! How transcendantly wonderful! Language is exhausted; thought is overpowered. All a poor sinner can do, is to lie low in the dust and weep. Now, in like manner do the Scriptures represent our union with Christ and the new life thereby. The human body, marriage, the vine and its branches, are symbols of it, but only symbols. They but dimly shadow forth the truth. The truth itself is so awfully sublime and mysterious, so transcends all human or angelic relationships, as to be the counterpart to nothing less than the inscrutable mystery of the inbeing of the Father and the Son. We are transported again from earth to heaven; from the created to the uncreated; from the level of human experience, of the seen and temporal, up to the high throne of Deity. The intercommunion and mutual indwelling of the persons of the Godhead, are set before us as the measure of the intimate union and oneness of life subsisting between Christ and the redeemed: "*As the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself.*" John, v: 26. "*As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father; so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.*" John, vi: 57 and 56. "*If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not; but if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him.*" John, x: 37 and 38. "*Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? The words that I speak unto you, I speak not of myself; but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works.*" John, xiv: 10. "*At that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and you in me and I in you.*" John, xiv: 20. "*If a man love me he will keep my words; and my father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him.*" John, xiv: 23. "*Neither pray I for these alone; but for them also which shall believe*

on me through their word; that they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them as thou hast loved me." John, xvii: 20-23. "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." Gal. ii: 20. "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" 1 Cor. iii: 16. "In whom (Jesus Christ) all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord; in whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God through the Spirit." Eph. ii: 21 and 22. "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God." 1 John, iv: 15.

As we listen to these utterances, many of them direct from the mouth of the incarnate Saviour, our minds shrink from the vain endeavor to penetrate the deep profound of their meaning. Of the limitation of our faculties, of the impotency of human thought, we become painfully conscious as we try to frame ideas responsive to the language of inspiration: Who can appropriate the thought of God as revealed in terms like these? Who is not appalled at the awful height of being destined to the believing sinner? When we turn aside to see this great sight, like Moses before the bush in Horeb, we hide our faces. And yet, who is not impelled to meditate on these things? and as all scripture is profitable, doubtless there is profit for us in these Scriptures, however partial and glimmering the views we can catch of their truths. The statement of the propositions themselves, their relations and connections, however difficult the exposition, will interest and instruct. The order, too, in which these texts are arranged, will facilitate the end in view:

(1). The Son as Mediator, sent of the Father, hath life in himself, even as the Father who sent him. This hath been *given* him of the Father. It is a prerogative of the Son in the economy of redemption. It lies in the very nature of his mediatorial work that he should have life in himself; that he should

be the foundation of life, himself the principle of life, and so quicken whom he will. The *living* Father hath sent the Son, and the Son lives *on account of* the Father: (*ἀπὸ* with the accusative. See Winer, Sect. xlix, c). The Son lives because the Father lives, and can no more die than the living Father who is the *ground* of his life. He hath life in himself. So he that eateth the Son, that eateth his flesh and drinketh his blood, that truly appropriates him, even *he* shall live *on account of* him. He shall live because the Son lives, and can no more die than he. By receiving the living bread which came down from heaven, he hath eternal life. By partaking of the Son, there is communicated to him that life which the Son through the Father hath in himself.

(2). The communion of life between the Father and the Son, and between the Son and those who partake of him, the living bread, is expressed under the same formulas. In both cases it is an inbeing, an indwelling. This, moreover, is the method whereby the life is communicated and maintained. The Father is in the Son, and the Son is in the Father; the Father dwelleth in the Son, and the Son in the Father. So of the Son and them who partake of his flesh and blood. He is in them, and they in him; he dwelleth in them, and they in him. Nay more; the Father and the Son make their abode with them, and they are one in them. The Son is in the Father, they are in the Son, and the Son is in them. God dwelleth in them, and they in God.

(3). Every person of the Godhead is said to dwell in the children of God. As the Father and the Son, so also the Spirit. The testimony is explicit: "The Spirit of God dwelleth in you." They, too, are "in the Spirit."

(4). The Holy Ghost is the *causa medians* of this reciprocal inbeing and indwelling. He is the bond of Union and communion. It is the Holy Ghost, who proceedeth from both, whereby the Father and the Son reciprocally dwell in each other:* and the eternal consciousness of the unity subsisting between the three persons in the one divine essence, is to be ascribed to the inbeing of the third in the first and second persons of the Godhead, and his eternal procession from them. So also in regard of the life of God in the souls of redeemed men, Christ

* See Dr. Breckinridge's First Part of Theology, p. 240.

liveth in them: the Holy Ghost dwelleth in them: they are an habitation of God through the spirit. "He that is joined unto the Lord is one Spirit." The third person of the Godhead, therefore, dwelling in Christ and in his people, is the bond of union between them, whereby they reciprocally dwell in each other, even as the Father and the Son. So also of the consciousness that we are in Christ, and one in him and the Father. "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by (in) the Holy Ghost:" therefore, he that believeth on Jesus, hath the witness in himself that Jesus is the Son of God, even the testimony of the Holy Ghost who dwelleth in him, and also beareth witness with his spirit that he is a child of God. Again, he that hath the Holy Ghost dwelling in him hath life; and he that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath the Son hath the Father also. Whatever, then, be the exact nature of the unity established between the believing soul and the persons of the Godhead, through the mediation of the Son of God, the Holy Ghost is the proximate producing cause and bond of it, and also of the consciousness of it. But this consciousness exists in the soul while here on earth in different degrees, varying from the faintest and most evanescent feeling of its reality, to an assurance more or less permanent. In the world of glory, its perfect and permanent realization will be experienced.

Of the unity between the Father, the Son, and believers, Luther, as quoted by Tholuck,* discourses thus: "Thou and I, he (the Son addressing the Father) would say, are one, in one divine essence and majesty; after the same example they shall also be one among one another, and that, too, in such wise, that this same unity shall be one in us, that is, be incorporated in me and thee; in brief, that they all be one, and one only, in us both; yea, so completely 'one bread,' that they have all that thou and I are able to have: consequently he prays that *we also may become partakers of the divine nature*, as St. Peter says, 2 Peter, i, 4; for although the Father and Christ are one in another way, a way more sublime and incomprehensible, in virtue of the divine essence, yet we so possess all this that it is ours and is enjoyed by us."

It is well known that from the days of Origen and Chrysos-

* Commentary on the Gospel of John, translated by C. F. Krauth, D. D., p. 678.

tom to the present time, a division of opinion has prevailed touching the relation of the latter part of the sixth chapter of John's gospel to the Lord's supper. Some deny any reference *at all* to that sacrament, and understand the eating of Christ's flesh and the drinking of his blood to mean simply a partaking of the spiritual power of the Redeemer; others affirm that the discourse relates *primarily* to the Supper, and that the mention of it before its institution is, as it were, a prediction of it by Christ. Up to the time of the Reformation, the latter was the view commonly accepted. In the discussions between the Lutherans and the Reformed, the Lutheran divines maintained the latter view; the Reformed, the former: at least this is true as a general statement. The reason of it is to be found, no doubt, in the great influence exerted upon an expositor by his previously settled convictions, and the general circle of ideas in which his mind moves. And in seasons of heated controversy, each idol of the mind sways its leaden scepter with unwonted energy. Differences of opinion on the nature of the Lord's supper, in some aspects of it, and the tenet of Consubstantiation, affirmed on the one hand and denied on the other, biased the judgment of interpreters. There can, however, hardly be reasonable doubt that there is in the sixth of John *some* reference to the supper. For, while the discourse on the bread of life in the latter part of the chapter, naturally follows and grows out of the miraculous feeding of the five thousand and the incidents succeeding it, recorded in the former part, the peculiar turn of thought and expression must have received their impress from the sacrament the Saviour had determined to institute before his passion. The similarity is too manifest and striking to be fortuitous. That the reference was latent in the mind of the Great Teacher, is no evidence against its reality. The necessary failure of his hearers to apprehend it, is but one out of many instances where his teaching could be fairly comprehended only in the light of subsequent events. As the completed volume of inspiration embraces a complete system of truth whose parts mutually illustrate each other, so the minor subdivisions of those parts reflect light one upon the other. The support of natural life in the miracle, by the production and distribution of the meat that perisheth, lays the foundation for instruction and exhortation about the meat which endureth unto everlasting life.

That meat is the flesh and blood of the Son of God. The profound truth thus enunciated is embodied in the sacrament of the Supper, for the perpetual edification of the body of Christ; and this discourse is an inspired commentary, proleptically given, on the nature and design of that sacrament. Underlying all is the subtle relation or correspondence between things natural and things spiritual; and though we can not define what life is, this discourse links together the life that now is and its support through the meat that perisheth, and the eternal life of the renewed man through the flesh and blood of the Son of God, given to us in the sacrament under the symbols of bread and wine. The words of the Saviour in John, vi: 53, 55, and those at the institution of the supper—"This is my body, This is my blood,"—imply a unity of thought and subject that ought not to be mistaken; and the sacrament and the inspired commentary together constitute an irrefragable proof of the oneness of Christ and his people. They are a spiritual organism of which he is the head and his people the members. One life-blood, so to speak, flows through the veins of the whole. The humanity of the one is completely penetrated by the divine life of the other, who is himself also human as well as divine. They are one race as really as Adam and his posterity; and they are so because they are of one blood, and consequently of one life. "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth" (Acts, xvii: 26); and the blood is the life. See Gen. ix: 4. Very pertinent here are the remarks of Dr. Hodge in his Commentary on Ephesians: * "To partake of one's flesh and blood, does not, in ordinary life, nor according to Scripture usage, mean to partake of his substance, but it does mean to partake of his life. * * * * Nothing is more common than to speak of the blood of a father flowing in the veins of his descendants, and of their being his flesh. This means, and can only mean, that they are partakers of his life. * * * * As, therefore, participation of one's flesh does not, in other connections, mean participation of his substance, it can not be fairly understood in that sense when spoken of our relation to Christ. And as in all analogous cases it does express derivation or community of life, it must be so understood here."

*See pp. 345-6. The entire comment on Chap. v: 30, pp. 237, 47, deserves a careful reading.

In this connection, we refer also to Dr. Breckinridge's Second Part of Theology, Book V, ch. xxx; particularly II.--5, pp. 605-7.

The mystical union, then, between Christ and his people, exhibited in the Lord's Supper and confirmed thereby to all true believers, involves a oneness of life between him and them. This life exists in Christ the Mediator as its original source—the Father having given to him to have life in himself. It is derived from him by elect sinners of our race, when they are united to him in their effectual calling, and born again. They are his spiritual seed. They constitute with him, their head, one race, even as Adam and his posterity; who are of one blood, and therefore of one life, and therefore one race. The community of life between Christ and his seed, is grounded in the common indwelling of the Holy Ghost, the third person of the Godhead. The mystical union is a great mystery, far exceeding our finite comprehension. It may be stated in a form of words; it may be illustrated, as it is in the Scriptures, by symbols expressive of the most intimate unions that obtain in this world, but it can not be fully explained. Nay, it is illustrated in the Scriptures, as has been shown, in the most amazing manner; but it is a mystery still. That very illustration, while it is the strongest proof possible of the ineffable intimate nature of the union, overawes the mind, and bids us know how abortive must be all attempts to penetrate the arcana of a divine life, the life of God in the soul of man. No man knows what any form of life is; much less can he know what that life is which flows from the incarnate God into redeemed humanity. Furthermore, believers being in Christ and he in them; he in the Father, and the Father in him, and both dwelling in believers; and the Holy Ghost, whereby the Father and the Son reciprocally dwell in each other, also dwelling in them,—such a relation is established thereby between believers and the Godhead, that they become “the household of God.” God is their Father in a sense infinitely peculiar and transcendently glorious; *their* Father as he is of no other finite being in the universe. Of all else he is Father by creation; of these, by begetting. To the wonderful analogies heretofore adduced, this other one must be added. Christ is the eternally begotten Son of the Father, and to as many as receive him—receive him into their hearts, so that he dwells and lives there—gives he power (authority, pre-

rogative) to become the sons of God. They pass beyond the order of the created into that of the begotten. In this, as in all things else, they are made like unto him. Their new and peculiar relation to the Godhead corresponds to their new life. The one infers the other. And further, their new and peculiar relation to the Godhead carries with it as a necessary result, the acquisition of a glory, majesty, and blessedness, altogether beyond the range of human thought. "Beloved, now are we the sons of God," says the apostle John, "and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him;" and says Paul, "If children, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ." Now, if these things be so, who can hesitate to acknowledge that redeemed men in their glorified state, when the life of Christ is perfected in them, are advanced to a position in the scale of being immeasurably higher than that of the angels of God?

Before leaving the manifold evidences to the truth of the views presented and maintained in this essay, two passages of Holy Scripture require at least a brief though a distinct notice. One of them has been quoted, perhaps, several times. Both point to a condition of the human soul so far removed from the ordinary conception of its destiny, that one might well hesitate to attempt an exposition of them. Indeed, they can not be expounded at all, upon any low rationalistic theory of interpretation. The first is,

2 Pet. i: 4. "Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might be (become) partakers of the divine nature (*γένησθε θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως*); having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust." No countenance, it may be remarked, is given in this text to the pantheistic notion that all things are now God, or a part of God. The end of the promises is that we *may become* partakers of the divine nature. But there are two mistakes—one on the one side, the other on the other—which demand careful attention. The first is, that our human nature will be transmuted into the divine essence, or absorbed in the divine nature, so that we shall lose our individuality and self-consciousness. It is impossible, in the nature of the case, that the created should become the uncreated and eternal; and it is contrary to the whole current of Scriptural truth, that the separate existence

of the redeemed should be absorbed and lost in the infinite being of God. Whatever is to be the condition of man hereafter, it is certain he will be man still. He is ever to have a distinct, individual existence as man. He will never lose his personal identity. On the other hand, to interpret the text so as to make its whole meaning consist simply in a participation of the moral perfections of God, that is, that man shall become perfectly free from sin, and think and feel and act in entire accord with the will of God, is absolutely to destroy the force of language; for the expression, "that ye may become partakers of the divine nature," is as precise as it is extraordinary and cogent. This is no participation of the divine nature at all. It is neither more nor less than the latent spirit of rationalism working in us, which induces us, most unwisely and most injuriously, to the interests of true godliness, thus to temper down the most august utterances of the divine word. If "to become a partaker of the divine nature" is nothing more than the restoration of man to his primeval integrity, though in another sphere of being and activity, then indeed is language a nose of wax, to be twisted at will, and the accurate communication of thought an impossibility. Least of all will it be possible to communicate to man the high thoughts and purposes of God. When the limited experience of three-score years and ten, or of a score of generations, and human reason and power in their highest development, are made the measure of every thing, legends and myths and allegories and blank denials become the natural and ready engines of wholesale destructiveness, and even when these are abjured, the grandest mysteries of the Christian faith may be obscured, or may fail to be apprehended at all, by reason of a covert unwillingness to accept the thought language gives. To resolve the expression under consideration into a synonym to perfect moral excellence, implies a principle of criticism as really destructive of the integrity of the divine word as myths and allegories. Avoiding, then, extremes on the one hand and the other, and allowing to language its just force, what meaning ought to be attached to the phrase "to become partakers of the divine nature?" So far is it from implying an absorption of the human in the divine, that it fairly implies that the human is the principal subject of discourse and the divine something which it shares in with another; just as

when Christ is said to have partaken of flesh and blood, the mind reverts to his divine nature as the principal subject, and conceives of human nature as something joined to that. And the Incarnation is the very illustration which the Scriptures supply, whereby we can obtain some suitable conception of the glorious destiny appointed to the redeemed of earth. Christ brought down the divine nature into union with the human; that he might lift up the latter and bring it into union with the divine. In the Incarnation there is no absorption of the one nature by the other; no blending of the one with the other; but a most intimate union, without conversion, composition, or confusion. In a manner analogous to this, man becomes a partaker of the divine nature by the actual indwelling of the Holy Ghost, the third person of the Godhead. There is no absorption or transmutation of his essence; he is man still, soul and body. But every power and every fiber of his being is permeated and interpenetrated by the Spirit of the Lord; and in virtue thereof, a divine glory and energy exhibited in his whole being and activity, which furnish to the universe the supreme and overwhelming demonstration of the existence, presence and power of the great Jehovah. Man is made like unto his exalted Saviour, who is the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his person. The image of the glorified Son of man is stamped on the glorified sons of men. A divine majesty and glory evince the inhabitation of God through the Spirit. The human essence abides, but in, with, and through it, there is ever a manifestation of divine virtues. God is brought as nearly face to face with the universe as seems possible. His eternal power and godhead stand forth in the material creation, but the glory thereof has been obscured, and matter itself declared to be eternal; yea, to be God himself. In glorified humanity we have the manifestation of deity in a living, thinking, self-conscious agent, with a glory incapable of obscuration; with an evidence that necessitates conviction. All but the essence of the absolute personal Deity may here be gazed upon by created intelligences. In confirmation of what is now said, and at the same time to guard against the error of supposing that man partakes of the *essential* nature of the Godhead, the apostle does not write *φύσεως τοῦ θεοῦ*, but *θείας φύσεως*. It is not *θεότης* that presents itself to the gaze of the universe in redeemed humanity—that

were impossible,—but *θειότης*, and that with a surpassing fullness and efficacy.*

The other passage is Heb. xii: 10: "For they (fathers of our flesh) verily for a few days chastened us for their own pleasure; but he (the Father of spirits) for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holiness (*τῆς ἀγιότητος αὐτοῦ*)." Here again is an expression every way peculiar and remarkable. It is not partakers of holiness in general, in the abstract, but partakers of *his* holiness—the holiness of God. If it be compared with Paul's frequently recurring phrase, *righteousness of God*, the righteousness which is by the faith of Jesus Christ, the thought at once occurs that this is a *divine* righteousness—the righteousness of him who is "JEHOVAH OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS," imputed to us and received by faith. It is not a creature righteousness; it is not righteousness in the abstract, but a most peculiar and special righteousness, even that wrought out by the obedience of the incarnate Son of God. Here also, then, to interpret the phrase, "partakers of his holiness," as nothing more than an equivalent to moral purity, is to do violence to both the native force of language and the analogy of Scripture. It can not be fully or fairly expounded by a reference to those texts in which the terms *holy* and *holiness* may be supposed to denote simply freedom from all stain of sin, or perfect rectitude of heart and conduct. There is a broader and higher sense of holiness, in which sense God is said to be "glorious in holiness." It is that infinite lustre of the divine perfections which shone in Jehovah-Jesus as revealed to the prophet Isaiah. Before its matchless splendors the Seraphim covered their faces and cried one unto another, saying, "Holy, holy, holy, is Jehovah of Hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory." It is the summation of the infinite excellences of God, which imparts an infinite glory to his character; by which he swears; by which he is distinguished, and wills above all things else to be distinguished, from all other beings. In this sense the epithet *holy* is applied by Hannah in her prayer-song (1 Sam. ii: 2): "There is none holy as Jehovah;" by the victorious ones who sing the song of Moses and the Lamb

*The reader is referred to the second article in Trench's *Synonyms of the New Testament*, as an appropriate conclusion to these remarks on 2 Pet. i: 4.

(Rev. xv: 4): "Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou *only* art holy;" and by the four beasts (Rev. iv: 8), who "rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come." In this sense the psalmist uses it, when he says, "Exalt ye Jehovah our God, and worship at his footstool; for he is holy." Holiness is that in God to which the most profound reverence in creatures is the corresponding affection. "Holy and reverend is his name." To be a partaker, therefore, of the holiness of God, is nothing less than to share in the glory of divine perfections. The elect sinner is predestinated to be conformed to the image of the Son of God, in whom dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead, and therefore is "filled unto (up to) all the fullness of God;" that is, filled as God is filled,—the immense perfections of the divine essence filling, and shining through, redeemed humanity. The glorified saint becomes the Shekinah of Deity. Let it be observed, too, it is to the *image* of the Son he is conformed, who is himself declared to be "the *image* of the invisible God." Bengel says, "an *image invisible* according to the divine nature; *visible* according to the human:" yet in the human nature he so imaged the invisible personal God, that Nathaniel exclaimed, "Thou art the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel." When Christ comes "to be glorified in his saints," their sonship will be attested by their bearing the image of him who is the image of God. There is this difference, however, as to the ground of the representation: to Christ belongs the actual *essentia* of the Godhead, the real *θεότης δεϊτας*; to the saints, *θεϊότης* only, divinitas. He, therefore, is an object of worship; they not. But by the indwelling of God, the Holy Ghost, the divine efficient agent alike in creation and redemption, and through whom Christ offered himself without spot to God, the glorified saint is filled with the fullness of God. The perfections of deity shine forth in and through him with a transcendent effulgence and power. Every element of his being is instinct with the life of God. The glory of a divine sanctitude rests upon him. In this way, and in the broadest and most exalted sense of the word *holiness*, man is made a partaker of the holiness of God. And in this consummation of

his being and destiny, he reaches the ultimate limit and glory of a created existence.

It only remains to point out, in a concluding part, the relation of the New Life of the Redeemed to some of the distinctive doctrines of the faith.

ART. VI.—*The Nation and the Insurgents.—With Special Reference to the Political, Military, Material, and Financial Condition of the Country, to the State of the Insurgent War, and to the Foreign Relations of the United States, at the End of the Year 1863.*

THE Nation has just manifested one of those popular reactions which distinguish all great commotions among men, and which operate with vehement force in all great revolutions. From the election of Mr. Lincoln till the autumn of 1862, the Government and the people of the loyal States, moving in concert, and marching in a direction which was itself a reaction against the extreme opinions which had prevailed in the Northern States, presented such an aspect of justice, moderation, and power, as seemed to leave no doubt of the early and complete extinction of the Rebellion. At that period a great and most critical division of the loyal people manifested itself. The popular elections which occurred in the autumn of 1862, exhibited a powerful and, as far as those elections permitted, a triumphant popular reaction against the newly-avowed principles of the Federal Administration. We have discussed the causes of that reaction, as it was manifested in the Papers of the President, and the votes of the people, and we were convinced it would grow, and become permanent, if it were honestly directed to the avowed objects of it.* It was not so directed. It was attempted to be diverted into a party, instead of a national movement. It was abused for the purpose of restoring the Democratic party to power, instead of preserving the nation and the constitution. Nay, it was pros-

* See Danville Review, December, 1862, pp. 670-712.

tituted to Democratic, rather than National objects, in a manner as disgraceful as success would have made it fatal. What we behold in the recent elections is the indignant rejection by the nation of this flagitious attempt; the rejection of the imposture that the national condemnation of certain principles and purposes of the Abolition party in 1862, meant the indorsement of still more fatal principles and purposes of the Peace Democracy in 1863. This, we understand to be the significance of these two apparently inconsistent, but really perfectly coherent, movements of the nation. By that of 1862, the nation announced its hostility to the principles of the new war policy of the Administration; by that of 1863, it has declared its hostility to any project for committing the fate of the nation into the hands of the Democratic party—and, least of all, into the hands of the disloyal portion of that party. And however difficult it may be to foresee the course of events, we are of opinion that both of these great judgments of the nation—however they may be misconstrued, or abused—will not only stand as land-marks from which it will not much depart, but will grow in importance and efficacy.

No doubt the hands of the Administration will be greatly strengthened by these elections of the summer and fall of 1863—just as they must also be strengthened by every success on its part, and by every failure of the attempts of its enemies. Still, however, temporary strength may be gained at the terrible risk of permanent weakness. At the commencement of Mr. Lincoln's Administration, there could hardly be said to be any organized opposition to him in the loyal States, or any serious or decided opposition in those States to the maintenance of the Union and the crushing of the Rebellion by force. At present, there is probably no loyal State in which there is not an organized and powerful opposition to his Administration, a deep and envenomed mutual hostility of parties alike claiming to be loyal, and an uncertainty more or less serious hanging over every important election. This state of things is extremely to be deplored—it is in a high degree perilous. So far as Mr. Lincoln and his Administration can be fairly considered responsible for it, every wise man will understand that they thereby endanger the very objects they have in view—

may, every object dear to the heart of every patriot. No real statesman, especially none in a country of laws and of freedom, ever imagined that fundamental social changes could be accomplished, unless by the common consent of society, nor judged that even if they could be accomplished otherwise, they were fit to be insisted on, if, in the common judgment, they cost far more than they come to. So far as parties striving for ascendancy are responsible for the state of things we have depicted, they ought to understand that the nation can be saved only by the nation; and that what is true forever is signally true now and of them—their mutual destruction by means of their mutual devourings. In times of great national peril, whatever party makes party objects or party ascendancy, the chief or even a principal object of its efforts, brands itself as corrupt, and utterly to be detested. The mutual treason of the factions in Jerusalem filled the doomed city with woe—till the avenging sword of Titus smote them all with destruction. The rival factions in Constantinople delivered up the Greek Empire to perdition, rather than forego the luxury of mutual slaughter. On the contrary, the whole glory and strength of England rest on nothing more deeply than on the ardor with which every faction, at every national danger, hurries to the support of the one that happens to be in power. The business of Mr. Lincoln, the business of every party and every faction, the business of every citizen of the Republic, the pre-eminent business of them all, each in his lot, is first of all, and above all, to break the military power of the rebellious States, and restore the supremacy of the constitution, the laws, and the government, over every foot of land, and every soul of man. Whoever will not do this, except on some impossible or scandalous condition—whoever will not do it, except with some object forbidden by law, reason and humanity—whoever will not do it at all—every one of them, calling himself loyal, deserves the execration of mankind and the vengeance of God. The great political problem, then, immediately before the nation for solution is, whether this evil spirit of division and distrust, which first hurried the rebels to destruction, has so fastened on us, as to render us incapable of what God has set before us, and unworthy of his further protection? It is a

problem which the Administration on one side, and the loyal people on the other, must determine, as they will answer to all nations, to posterity, and to God. Nor can anything be more clear than the fundamental principles which ought to regulate the action of both—the Administration carrying out the great and legitimate objects of the war in a manner not only deserving, but conciliating the cordial approbation of all loyal people—and all such people giving the most determined support to the Administration.

The strength imparted to the Government by these recent elections—and the weakness resulting from the great organized opposition, and the mutual violence of parties; present unitedly an aspect of the general condition, not very easy to be estimated, without taking into consideration the corresponding condition of the Confederate States. Their divisions may be even more perilous, though less obvious, than ours. Their difficulties, arising from immense, though cautiously expressed, hostility to the proceedings of their Government, may be even greater and more dangerous than anything that has been manifested among us. The dominant party, and the Government among them, may be in such a condition, that even a total change of Administration with us, would not arrest our triumph over them. Their Government may be laboring under far more powerful causes tending to weaken it with the people, than ours is; and no source, at all, of increase in popular strength may be left to it. If these statements indicate in some just degree, the state of parties and of public feeling among the people of the Rebel States; it is very obvious that conditions of parties and of public feeling among ourselves, that might otherwise fill us with extreme anxiety, sink correspondingly in the scale of importance. We have no doubt that, to a wide extent, all this is true; and that to all these causes the Confederate Government must add many others, the united effect of the whole of which is not only to weaken its influence from day to day, but to make its existence precarious. With a sense of the hopelessness of the contest in which they are engaged; a conviction that total ruin is the only result which is to be expected from its desperate continuance; the deceptions which the leading classes of the Rebels have practised upon the mass of the people, fill them with intense bitterness. The frightful oppression and misery

which, for the sake of utterly deceptive hopes and promises, the people have endured, rankle in their hearts. Ruined, betrayed, exhausted under a pitiless military despotism—how is it possible that a people, even in the lowest stages of civilization, can fail, at last, to execrate a government, which bestows on them no blessing, and heaps upon them ceaseless injuries, indignities, and wrongs? There is no ground for doubt, that immense portions of the rebel armies have been forced into service against their will, and would immediately quit the service if they could. It is well known, that on various occasions, large bodies of rebel troops have mutinied, and been subdued, or pacified, with the greatest difficulty; and many indications render it far from improbable, that the Rebel Government, if not subdued by us more speedily than seems to be expected at present, will be overthrown by domestic insurrection. The universal testimony which reaches the loyal States from the vast rebel territories successively occupied by our troops, and from the multitudes of rebel deserters and refugees who come within our lines, concur in proving all that we are here concerned to know upon this point. The Confederate Administration has relatively far less hold on the rebel population, than the Federal Administration has upon the loyal population. The violations of life, liberty, property, and every conceivable right bestowed on man by nature, by constitutions and by laws, are a thousand-fold more numerous and extreme, by the Confederate Government in the rebel States, than the wildest accusations have ever intimated against the Federal Government in the loyal States. With us, discontent may manifest itself freely and in every possible way, so that it stops short of crime; with them, discontent dare not even be whispered, without danger of incurring, without trial, punishment due only to the highest crimes; and still, as soon as the face of society there is even partially uncovered, enough is seen to show that discontent is relatively far deeper and wider in most, if not all parts of the rebel States, than in any portion of the loyal States. Nor can it be doubted that there are more refugees from the rebel States into the loyal States than vice versa; and more soldiers from the South in the Northern Armies, than vice versa; and that, in both respects, these facts are becoming more marked every day. When we consider that the white population of the loyal States is five times as great as that of the rebel

States, such facts do not admit of any explanation inconsistent with the one we have given to them. And the conclusion is as clear as it well could be under existing circumstances, that whatever may be the amount of loss of cordial popular support, under which the Federal Government may find itself obliged at present to prosecute the war; that sort of loss of support is relatively far greater as regards the present condition of the Confederate Government. Nor could any conclusion be more important, or decisive, touching the future course of the war, and its conclusion. Undoubtedly the personal fame of President Lincoln, and the supreme interest of the country, demand that he should shape his course and pursue it, in such a way as to satisfy the nation, and carry with him every loyal heart in it. But if this may not be, undoubtedly it should be a great support to him in his honest efforts to crush this Rebellion, and a great joy to every patriot who feels his immense obligation to support the President in his great work, whether he approves or disapproves of any part, or even the whole, of his mode of doing it; to perceive clearly that the political ability of the Government to accomplish the great work set before it, even though apparently diminished, is relatively as great, perhaps greater than it ever was.

In what we have said, we have alluded only to the state of public feeling in the Confederacy, as affecting the ability of the Rebel Government to carry on the war with any prospect of success. But there are many other causes, some of them far more obvious than this one, which seem to show that the cause of the Rebellion is irrecoverably lost, if not that its catastrophe is near at hand. More than half of the inhabited territory claimed as constituting the Confederacy when the war began, has been overrun, and is now held by the Federal troops. This portion embraces more than half of the white population of the whole Confederacy in the largest extent ever claimed by the rebels. All the rest of the Confederate territory, counting it by States, is the theater of actual war; there being, we believe, at this moment not a single State ever claimed by them, which is not invaded by a Federal force; while there is not more than a single one that has been taken from them by our armies, in which an armed Rebel force of any considerable strength now exists. They have claimed innumerable victories, and admitted

almost no defeats: but this is the actual result of the war, up to the hour at which we write. Their armies now in the field are far less numerous than ever before, and have been gathered, to a large extent, by a species of conscription, which, for utter brutality, never had a parallel. In the progress of these immense conquests which have rewarded the valor of the Federal armies, the Confederacy has lost almost its entire coast line on the sea, and most of its strongest fortresses inland, and has been cut in two from north to south, and had most of its great interior means of communication taken or destroyed. Vast regions have been laid waste by successive campaigns of great armies; every vestige of public works has been destroyed over the fairest portions of many States—towns, villages, and rural improvements have been consumed by fire—the production of the very necessities of life is no longer possible in a degree equal to the demands of nature—and amidst the blank despair which is settling like a pall over the face of the land—the white male population fit to replenish the Confederate armies, no longer exists, the armies as they stand constitute the last hope of those insane classes, whose crimes and follies have wrought this mournful devastation. To add to this great ruin, the Confederate government, not content to replenish their armies by violence, and to support them by plunder, so managed the finances of the country as to produce universal bankruptcy; and so arranged their currency and their sumptuary laws, that the pay of the soldier is worth six cents on the dollar, and a pound of meat or grain is limited in price to about one half the cost of producing it. Now, in the midst of such a scene of unutterable discomfiture, even while we weep over it, we must not allow ourselves to forget that the Rebellion, out of which all this wo has come, was the supreme and premeditated crime against all national independence, all regulated liberty, and all secure and permanent civilization. Nor while we faintly depict it—not to rejoice over or to insult so much misery—but to make our country see the certainty of its own triumph; must we forget that every day since this war began, it has rested absolutely with the Rebels, who began it without cause, to put an end to it. The nation mourned over its outbreak; it hesitated long, before it resolutely drew the sword; nothing less, perhaps, than the preservation of its own existence, would have carried it through the

terrible work it has accomplished thus far. If she is true to herself, it is only the direct interposition of God himself, that can prevent her from achieving it thoroughly. When that is done, may God grant our people and our rulers grace and wisdom to deal with our conquered brethren—not as they have dealt with us—but as we would they should deal with us, if their case were ours. So will our glory and our safety be both complete.

In the first of the series of publications, of which this is one, we attempted, nearly three years ago (January 1861), to make such a classification of the slave States, as would point out with simplicity and clearness, the great difference in their several relations to the insurrection which was just begun.* Some of them we called *cotton States*, some *non-cotton*, and the remainder *mixed*, embracing in the last class those States which produced cotton, but not as their great staple. The subsequent career of these States, has illustrated the force of the suggestions then made; and their fate will, probably, confirm their justice. The non-cotton slave States, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and part of Virginia (the new State of West Virginia), the only States falling strictly into that class; may be all said to be as securely bound to the Federal Union,—variously as that result has been severally reached by them,—as if there had never been an attempt to take them out of it. On the other hand, it has been mainly through the extreme hostility of the thoroughly cotton States, that the insurrection they organized at first, ever assumed such great proportions, or came to be conducted with such ferocious barbarity. It is upon this class of States that the issues of this war will fall with a consuming force, proportionate to their own insane hatred of their country; and it is within their borders that the roots of every evil passion may be expected to live the longest, after the war is over. According to their population, they began this war, among the richest communities in the world; they will end it probably among the poorest on the face of the earth. Between this firm and settled loyalty which already reigns in the non-cotton States, and this malignant treason which characterizes the conduct of the cotton States, is the still hesitating and uncertain posture of the mixed States. Some portions,—as Old

* Danville Review, for June, 1861, pp. 319-341.

Virginia,—still contend madly; some, as Tennessee, are occupied by our armies,—but still in peril, waiting on events,—but with a tendency more and more loyal; some, as Arkansas, are really conquered, but hardly yet subdued; some, as North Carolina, still give their troops to the rebel cause, and while they dread the future, live in habitual discontent,—and refuse to allow the war to be fought out within their borders. It is these mixed States, which, in general, while the war continues, will preserve themselves from its ravages, as far as may be possible, and when the war is over, will in good faith, quietly accept its results,—like sane men who fail in a desperate undertaking, are accustomed to do. From the non-cotton States, therefore, taken as a class, which were neutralized by division at first, as determined support as the government will any where obtain, will be rendered to it in the further prosecution of the war. This is more than a third of the support, on which the rebel cause originally relied. The mixed States will no longer oppose to the government, any force at all comparable to that they have heretofore put forth; rather they will hereafter afford it aid, bearing fair proportion to that they will give our enemies. But this class of States embraces a force at least as great as that possessed by the cotton States. It is thus chiefly from the cotton States, two of which (Louisiana and Mississippi) are already conquered and exhausted,—that the greater part of the resistance must come, which the government will have to encounter, in the further progress of the war. It is made apparent, therefore, by this statement, the leading facts of which are notorious,—that the resistance which the confederate government is able to offer in future campaigns, is not underrated in the previous statements of this article. What seemed to us perfectly manifest, from the beginning,—has proceeded a great way in being actually realized. It was impossible for the revolted States,—even if they had been guided by the highest human wisdom, to have achieved, by force, under the circumstances in which they attempted it, the overthrow of the Federal Government, the partition of this great Republic, and the erection of a new nation out of the slave States. If the people of the Northern States could have been kept united, and had been as thoroughly loyal as the patriotic party in the border slave States, or even as the loyal men in the States which seceded; a really superior administration ought to

have been able to crush the insurrection, thoroughly and at once. Comparing what has been done, with what remains to be done, in order to break up completely the military power of the insurgents,—the work left seems to us to be far the smaller, and far the less difficult part; while the force which the insurgents can still oppose to the Federal arms is reduced in every important particular to less,—perhaps far less,—than half of that they could once command. It is possible their armed force may not be numerically reduced one half; but a country whose armies are being constantly reduced by the casualties of war, without the possibility of recruiting them, or supporting them in the highest state of efficiency,—while every other element of power is fatally reduced, is already lost. Serious doubt, too, has come to obscure the great fact so often and so vehemently asserted,—that one rebel can whip five Yankees; especially after the one rebel comes to be destitute of money, clothes and food. Nor do the most diligent inquiries reveal the existence of that *last ditch*,—or that willingness of the whole insurgent population to die in it,—which unitedly have formed so great an element of their boasted invincibility.

We deem it proper to say distinctly,—though the candid reader could understand nothing else, from all we have written concerning this rebellion,—that it is not the entire population of the revolted States we mean to embrace, in the stern condemnation we have been obliged to utter continually. On the contrary we have constantly asserted our belief, that a very large proportion of that population, was far more the victims than the abettors of the terrible wickedness; and our conviction that the whole power of the nation should be put forth, to deliver and protect this great portion of our Southern people, if there were no other motive for the war. And all the world knows, that many thousands of heroic men and women in all parts of the Confederacy, have braved every human danger, and encountered sufferings such as only savages are thought capable of inflicting, rather than even appear to connive at the atrocious proceedings around them; martyrs to their duty and their country, whose blood and tears give to the nation a title to the land which drank them up, more sacred than every claim by which it possessed that land before. Nor will we deny that, notwithstanding all the horrors which the dominant party has perpetrated in the

name of the South; still there are multitudes of considerations which prompt wise men to forbearance in dealing with them,—and awaken in generous men those powerful sympathies which once bound them to us. But we can not, we dare not, cover up crimes and villainies, whose enormities cry to God continually for vengeance,—and whose free course and successful termination, involve not only the widest and most complete ruin, but the very existence of the nation, which, of all nations, the human race most needs should live. Nor will we take upon our soul the guilt of failing to denounce, with all the energy of which we are capable, the men, the parties, and the States, who have wrought such cruel desolation, by means never exceeded in wickedness, and with objects as detestable as ever entered the mind of man.

From the point we have now reached in developing the general view we wish to present, we are better prepared to direct our attention, more particularly, to the actual condition of the nation, considered apart from the revolted States,—and with special reference to its ability to terminate the war, speedily and triumphantly. And we may say, at once, that while, from the beginning, we never had a doubt of the redundant ability of the nation to crush the insurrection, any more than we had of its supreme duty to do so; the events of the whole intervening period since the war began, taken all together, appear to us to have tended constantly and directly to prove that the actual work was being steadily accomplished; and now, as it seems to us, the actual condition of the nation, at this moment, is such,—as we have said of the Confederacy in reviewing the present state of the insurrection, that the failure of the nation to accomplish the work thoroughly, is an event justly to be considered impossible, according to the ordinary course of human events. If this view of public affairs is just, it is the more important that it should be clearly stated and understood; as thereby the secret treasons and conspiracies which are perpetually agitating society in the loyal States, may be seen to be as gratuitous as they are dangerous to the authors of them, and may be abandoned; while the friends of the Union in the revolted States may take heart at the certain, and perhaps, near approach of deliverance, too long delayed,—and insurgents of every class may be warned that all that is left to them, is to make provision

for their own safety. The sooner, too, we can extirpate the unspeakable folly, which has done so much harm,—that this insurrection is one of those revolutions which, as the outcry is, never go back; the better it will be for those, who learn at last, through the wreck they have made, and for all who have abetted them, that few revolutions, in the history of mankind, have failed to go back, first or last,—and that no insurrection ever went forward.

First of all, in estimating the present ability of the nation to crush the remaining military power of the insurrection, is the question of men to fight its battles. This question, after all we have heretofore written concerning it, needs only a general explanation here. When the war began, there were, according to the usual rate of estimation, five and a half millions—or possibly six millions of fighting men in the country;—of whom not above one million and a quarter, or possibly one million only—could be fairly assigned to the population claimed by the insurgents. There remained, therefore, to the nation, available for the purposes of the war, from four to five millions of fighting men—nearer five than four, probably. Not more than a million and a quarter, perhaps not more than a million of these, have been called into the Federal service. So that there remain not less than three millions of fighting men in the loyal states who have not taken up arms; while, as our previous statements show, the number of fighting men who have not taken up arms as yet among the insurgents does not probably exceed one hundred thousand. Allowing the whole number called into the field, the number rendered incapable of further service, and the number of veterans now under arms, to be about equal on each side; what is to be decided, is, the ability of the remaining one hundred thousand insurgents, to fight the three millions of remaining loyal men. If one party were five times as strong as the other—and the losses were equal; as soon as they lost a million of men each,—the stronger side retained four-fifths of its strength, while the weaker side had spent its entire strength. This is the process which has actually been going on—the result towards which the parties have been rapidly tending—the end which must necessarily be reached when a bloody war is carried on, between those who are very strong, and those who are not strong at all. In the earlier stages of such a war, and for a

limited time, a certain equality of force may be brought into the field, and doubts may appear to cover the result; but as the end approaches—the explanation just given, shows how the success of the powerful party must necessarily advance at a constantly increased rate. Nothing can be more certain, or, as we suppose, more obvious, than these facts and results; and the whole of this war completely illustrates the inevitable force of the process, and has constantly tended to the unavoidable result. It never was a question, with us, of Greeks against Asiatics; but of one American against four or five others—either of the four or five as good a man as the one, perhaps better. It never was a question, with us, of the weak party fighting in some sacred cause, and the strong one in some vile and dishonorable one; but of the strong party upholding a cause of the highest glory and the supremest necessity, and the weak party fighting without even a decent pretext, for objects in part utterly preposterous, and in part desperately wicked. How, then, is it possible to doubt that the cause of the nation, in respect of an adequate warlike population, is invincibly strong, in any comparison whatever; and in comparison with the weakness of the confederates, growing stronger continually? How can the final success of the insurgent cause be any longer even imagined, except upon the basis of some change in the condition of the parties—which only a miracle could produce? Two or three hundred thousand veteran insurgents, with almost no available reserve of fighting men, might protract the war and do much mischief; but that they can finally, or even long, maintain themselves against an equal number of Federal veterans, with a reserve that is practically inexhaustible, can not be imagined. If these insurgent troops are so embittered against the United States, that they are resolved to brave any fortune, sooner than return to their allegiance to it; how much better would it be for them to quit the desperate folly and mischief they are now engaged in—and escaping the destruction which awaits them—march into Mexico, drive the French out of it—and followed by their women and children—establish themselves in some portion of Spanish North America, where all who choose to share their fortunes, might join them from the United States, and where they would lay the foundations of a glorious future. It would be a wonderful thing, if in the providence of God, this monstrous

conspiracy against the existence of the United States as one of the great nations of the earth,—should end in making it still more powerful and durable, than it was before; in totally changing the condition of the black race on this continent, and by consequence, in some degree, throughout the world; in creating a great Protestant Anglo-Saxon nation, in the vast region on this continent, so long abused by Papal and Latin races; besides working out in regard of two great European nations, results in all respects the opposite of those they hoped to derive from our ruin. No event, in modern times, has been so fruitful as the war to establish the independence of this nation. Who need doubt, that the far more terrible war waged to maintain and perpetuate the existence then won, might be used by God, in a manner far more fruitful?

It can not be denied that a considerable portion of the immense fighting material, still untouched in the loyal States, is not loyal. It would be a thousand times more proper, and no doubt, just as easy, to make this element effectual in defence of the country; as it was for the rebels to make the large loyal element amongst them, efficacious in attacking us. Amidst the ceaseless clamor against the oppressions of the Federal Government, it is really its extreme clemency in dealing with this disloyal class, scattered over the loyal States, that has made them dangerous. There is no doubt that if great reverses were to befall the national cause, traitors would openly appear in every part of the country,—and take active part against it. There is no doubt, that they have participated in every form of mischief, and had a part in all the evil that has been done, and that they are now more or less organized secretly, in every State of the Union, for treasonable purposes. Every body knows,—who cares to know,—that there was a conspiracy covering the United States,—one part of which was to burn every principal city therein; and that the attempt of the Irish Catholic mob to burn New York, immediately after the last raid of Morgan, and the last invasion of Maryland by Lee,—was an outbreak of that conspiracy. Nobody, we suppose, now doubts that it was by means of this conspiracy, that all disloyal men, and multitudes who profess to be loyal, succeeded in practically defeating the last draft for Federal soldiers, and making it, in effect, almost fruitless. Some of the principles of the law providing for that draft, were, in our judgment, erroneous; as,

for example, that one allowing service to be commuted by money,—which, in the actual state of the country, was a total mistake,—and worked great evil in every direction. It is also true, that besides the disloyal portion of the people, who will not fight for the country, if they can avoid it; there are great multitudes of men of the proper age for military service, and who claim to be loyal, who never were inclined to arms, and are now less so than ever. We suppose that a million of men have voluntarily taken up arms, on the federal side. This is a very large proportion, of all who are loyal and subject to military duty, to rush into it, without other motives than a sense of duty, love of country, and the attractions of the service; and we suppose a very large proportion of those who do this, and remain fit for service, will continue in it. The two ways in which the opponents of the government most naturally seek to embarrass it, are by carrying the elections against it, and by preventing the supply of soldiers from being sufficient. They have, probably, been more successful in the latter, than in the former method. The number of deserters from the army has been utterly disgraceful; and appears to have been increased, rather than diminished, by the system of commuting service for money, and by increasing bounties until they have become enormous. One constant hindrance to the getting of privates for the army may be looked for in the incompetency and unsuitableness of a large proportion of the officers, and especially of those above company officers, under whom they have to serve. A man of good morals dreads the risk of serving under an officer notoriously of bad morals; while a man of sense and courage, very unwillingly puts his life and character, at the disposal of an officer whom no one believes to be fit for his situation, except, perhaps, those who put him in it. While, therefore, serious difficulties may exist in the matter of the adequate supply of troops,—difficulties created in part by the character of too many of the officers of the army; in part by the active opposition of the enemies of the government; in part by the reluctance of the men fit for service, to enter the army; and in part by the improper principles made prominent, in some of the laws under which troops have been raised: the right of the country to the services of every man in it, remains its clearest and highest right; the duty of the government, to enforce this right promptly and as often

and far as the interest of the country requires, is paramount,—and the exigencies of the situation imperatively demand that this duty should be performed, and this right enforced. Let not the work be done negligently or deceitfully, and so bring down on us the ridicule of our enemies, the scorn of wise men, and the displeasure of God. The government,—if it will do its own duty wisely,—may rely, with great confidence, on obtaining the flower of the nation as volunteers; so far as the sense of duty, the love of country, and the delight in the excitement, the honor, and the rewards of the military life, can carry men. After that, what is to be relied on is neither commutation money, nor enormous bounties, but the right of the country, and obedience to the laws which enforce that right. To-day, the militia of the nation ought to be in a state of thorough organization and drill; ready to repel invasion, fit to act, as they stand, and in whatever mass, and on whatever service. Are they in that condition, to the extent of the tenth part of them? The army ought to be recruited, if volunteers do not offer,—by draft, or lot, upon some fair, simple, uniform plan, that would, little by little, but always sufficiently, keep its ranks full.* The work should be done as a steady, necessary, and proper business, required by the safety and the glory of the country, and maintained by the whole force of the nation; while all tricks, commutations, trafficking, starts and scares, should be utterly and forever put aside. Done thus,

* While we are in the act of preparing this paper, we learn by the newspapers that the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in session at Pittsburg, has decided that the existing Act of Congress by which the drafting of soldiers for the Federal army is regulated, is *unconstitutional*. The decision, as we gather, was upon the preliminary portion of several cases,—the application, namely, of several drafted soldiers for injunctions arresting the further proceedings of the federal officers in these cases, till they could be fully heard, on their merits. The elaborate decisions which seem to have been given, however, on these initiatory proceedings, leave little doubt that the same court will decide in the same way, on final hearing; Judges Lowrie, Woodward and Thompson, for declaring the Act of Congress unconstitutional, and Judges Strong and Read, for sustaining the law as constitutional. We have seen only portions of Chief Justice Lowrie's, and Justice Strong's opinions. As far as we understand Judge Lowrie's reasoning, we must say, with all due respect, that we consider it preposterous; and the ruling of the court, if it be law, which we are satisfied it is not, and if it is acquiesced in by the country, which we are sure it never can be, virtually renders the existence of an effective and powerful federal army, impossible in any protracted war; and the national defeat and disgrace not impossible

war can be carried on, so far as the furnishing of troops is concerned, with absolute punctuality,—and until all who fight such a nation, become tired of it. Upon any other principles, nothing can be more confused, costly, uncertain, and ineffectual. What a comment on our country would it be, to say that with three millions of fighting men who have never been in service, the army can not be adequately recruited; the government can not devise and execute a practically effective system of drafting; and every body sets to work at purchasing troops by the head, at enormous prices, out of a joint fund! There is not an army in the world, that can stand a large infusion of troops purchased of themselves one by one, on the mere mercenary idea. Even at the height of the idea of mercenary troops, in times past,—nothing of this sort was thought of. To let out the war by contract,—could be hardly more scandalous or dangerous.

What effects will be produced upon the *numerical* strength of the army, by the effort on the part of the government to raise black troops, from the negroes and mulattoes, bond and free, of the United States, is very difficult to tell beforehand. What effect may be produced upon the spirit and efficiency of the army—upon the estimate which the country puts upon the army—upon the feelings of the army towards the government, and upon the general feeling of the country, towards the Administration which has resorted to this expedient; is perhaps, at this moment, still more difficult to determine, with truth and justice. The army and the country, have, apparently and to a certain extent, so far acquiesced in the wishes and plans of the President, that in a certain sense they are being executed. It is possible the Confederate Government may be driven by extreme necessity to follow the example of the President, and arm the slaves of the insurgents; the free negroes and mulattoes, they had already armed, to a considerable extent (two regiments, for example, at least, in Louisi-

even at the present stage of the present war. For the gist of it seems to be, that the Federal Government, though expressly empowered by the Constitution to "*raise and support armies*," can not do this, except by raising volunteers, and can not do it that way, so as to interfere materially with the militia of any State. Of what advantage is a Constitution, that a live nation can't look at, without breaking it; and that won't allow the great Republic even to die with courage and dignity?

ana) before a single negro soldier was enlisted in the Federal service. What effect such a proceeding on their part might have on the progress and result of the war, we will not stop to discuss; any more than we will now stop to discuss the consequences to the nation, of being possibly found, at the close of the war, with an immense army of veteran negro soldiers, part in the rebel and part in the federal service, in her bosom, claiming all the rights of American citizens, and prepared to enforce those rights. We suppose that the overwhelming majority of the officers and soldiers of our armies, is decidedly opposed to the whole idea of raising negro troops, of using them, or of risking the fate of the war, in any degree upon them. We also suppose, that a decided majority of the people in the loyal states are firmly opposed to the whole of that particular policy of the President, which has resulted in the raising of negro troops; notwithstanding immense masses of those people may so far acquiesce in the whole, or any part of that peculiar policy, as the state of parties obliged them to do, or else to aid in obstructing and opposing the President, in other parts of his policy which they cordially approve, and consider most instantly important—and their defeat most incurable. The temper of the army was well understood by the President, when he wisely organized the black troops in a distinct body, under a peculiar name, and disabled its officers from commanding white officers or troops; and the general character and previous rank of the bulk of the officers appointed exclusively for these black troops, discloses plainly enough the sense in which the whole subject was understood. In like manner, as we have before said, the popular vote of the autumn of 1862, is a recorded, and we think, unrepealed verdict, against that whole peculiar policy; and if that question could come before the people of the loyal states to day, clearly and by itself; "*negro equality with the white man*,"—as citizen or soldier—or "*the negro as he was*"—we have no doubt that the majority for the latter, would be perfectly overwhelming. For our own part, we trust in God that the progress of events will reveal some middle ground, upon which the Southern States may be saved from helpless destruction and anarchy, when the war is triumphantly ended; upon which all who really compassionate the black

race, and would ameliorate its sad fate, may meet; upon which our constitutional liberty may be maintained, at the same time that we effectually vindicate our national existence and glory; upon which the sacredness of vested rights and of national faith, may be shown to be the foundation of all political security and true progress, instead of its being possible for their breach to promote any lasting good. But we will not be seduced incidentally into such great topics, upon which the question before us does not immediately hang; and with regard to which, we have heretofore spoken with entire freedom.* The existence of the nation far exceeds in importance, the continuance or the overthrow of any particular interest of any portion of it; and the triumph of constitutional government and regulated freedom, over the military anarchy of the insurgents, must not be put at hazard by unnatural constructions forced upon existing institutions. Our grand necessity is victory. For that we will forbear much, endure much. With victory, no man need doubt that the nation will find a way, or make one, to rectify whatever serious wrong may have been committed in securing it. Without it, we, and our untimely zeal for objects that are unattainable and interests comparatively subordinate, and all those objects and interests as well, must enter the same gulf in which the life and hopes of the nation are swallowed up, and from which—whatever may emerge after generations of agony—this glorious Republic will come forth no more.

In estimating the actual position of the country, and its probable future, with special relation to the war, next to the state of public sentiment, and to the military resources—both of which have been considered—it naturally follows to speak of the general material ability of the country—its wealth, its resources, its prosperity, its general capacity to meet the protracted and enormous pressure upon it. We have already pointed out the frightful condition of the Confederate States, considered as a whole, in all these respects. For a contest on so vast a scale, this war may be already called long. It is approaching three years since the madmen at Charleston fired

* See Danville Review for December, 1862, pp. 630-718.

on Fort Sumter, by direction of the southern senators at Washington city, expressly to render further union and peace impossible; and about the same length of time since their fellow-madmen in Mississippi, acting under the same direction, commenced firing upon steamboats navigating the great river of the country, expressly to make the dull Yankees comprehend that war actually existed. How complete is the desolation which has fallen upon Mississippi and those portions of South Carolina—the finest portions—heretofore made the seat of war; and what rational being can consider any retribution too severe that God, in his providence, may bring on the remaining portions of it?

The sufferings and injuries which have been brought upon the greater part of Missouri and Kentucky, the whole of West Virginia, and certain portions of Maryland, have been extremely severe, and have, no doubt, weakened the resources of all those States, and temporarily destroyed them in the portions most frequently and brutally sacked. But still, no extensive portion of either of those States is in a condition comparable for wretchedness to any portion of the vast Confederate territory which has been the permanent seat of hostilities; and other very large portions of them possess great resources available for war. Thousands of persons have been ruined; most generally, persons whose property, to a large extent, lay in rebel States, or whose business had so involved them with rebels, as to bring them within the compass of rebel confiscations, or rebel bankruptcy; and persons literally robbed of all movable property by rebel invaders, and burned out of house and home by them. Upon the whole, the resources of the vast loyal border slave territory—stretching continuously fifteen hundred miles, from the Atlantic coast of Delaware and Maryland to the western border of Missouri—though no doubt actually reduced, are available to the support of the war more extensively and more effectively than heretofore. The great border slave-region has suffered a hundred-fold more than any other region of equal extent that adheres to the Federal Government; but it is now in a condition, taking the sum of its moral and material state, to count far more on the side of the Government—if fairly and considerably

treated by it—than it ever was. Let it be borne in mind that this region is one of the finest in the world—that in territorial extent it embraces a third of the slave States, and contains nearly half of the white population of them all, and constitutes a vast border between all the remaining slave States, and all the free States—and enlightened men will probably agree, that so far is it from being unreasonable to expect a wise government to be deeply considerate of the interests, the feelings, and the rights of such a population, so situated—it is worth all this war may cost to have wrested these five States from the grasp of the insurgents, and bound them more firmly than ever to the Union.

Throughout the entire free States, the war, instead of bringing with it unusual suffering and embarrassment, has been attended with a remarkable degree of prosperity. Great changes have, of course, occurred; but they have been made with wonderful facility, and been attended with great compensations. Certain losses, too, have fallen upon particular interests; but even these suffering interests have not been without special compensations. The shipping interest, for example, could not fail to suffer in the loss of the carrying trade, and of vessels captured—in both particulars through pirate expeditions, fitted out in Great Britain for the rebels. But the constant demand of the Government for vessels, chartered and purchased at enormous rates, has been probably more than a full compensation. In like manner, the commerce of the country might have been expected to suffer very greatly; and, no doubt, has suffered in certain respects; as, for example, by the sudden stoppage of the export of its chief staple—cotton. But this great loss was almost entirely compensated to the North by the vast increase in other articles of export—among the rest, one which diffused its benefits most widely of all—breadstuffs; while the actual loss from the stoppage of cotton fell mainly and terribly upon the insurgents themselves, and upon Great Britain and France; and while the United States were obliged to turn whatever loss fell upon them to great advantage, by diminishing imports for luxury, and by putting foreign trade upon a basis, at once sounder in itself and better for the United States. In some

respects, enormous advantages have been obtained; as, for example, by giving to the loyal States a monopoly of the tobacco trade of the world, as nearly as the cotton States had of that staple before the war began. And so we might enumerate special apparent injuries substantially compensated, and to a great degree by unforeseen results, throughout every material interest of the States of the North. The direct material advantages which have resulted from the war, and in many instances been actually produced by it, are very remarkable. As a very obvious instance, we may note the effect of the enormous increase of transportation, created by the war, upon the whole railroad system of the loyal States, in giving unprecedented prosperity and efficiency to a class of public works of the most vital importance to the nation, and in which more than a thousand millions of private wealth are embarked. Nor has any lesson of the war been more decisive, or more important for the country to cherish, than that concerning the military uses of these great works. These somewhat desultory statements and illustrations might be easily carried through every department of material interest and industrial occupation, relevant to the condition of a country in a state of war, as prosperous or otherwise, and the sum of the whole would confirm the indications of each particular example we have stated by way of illustration. Indeed, not only is the whole North in a state of great material prosperity in every particular needful to fit a country for the vigorous prosecution of war, but in nearly all the higher departments of the material service of war, the highest mechanical skill, the most active inventive genius, and the best attainments in many sciences, have been made tributary to the military power of the country. It is hardly too much to say, that the United States are competent, after all the great destruction of men, and of all the materials of war, to put into the field, and sustain there, an army as numerous as has ever been mustered in modern times, and better armed, provided, and paid, than any other army in the world. And no one in America doubts that it would do its work effectually when put to it. All this seems to be an incredible mystery to other nations. It will be well for them, however, to act as if they believed it all; and

not amiss for them to make such changes in their own condition, as will enable them to do the like as often as may be necessary.

It remains, as a part of this general topic, to speak of the monetary condition of the country, in comparison with that of the insurgents, as thus far affected by the war, and as affording an adequate basis for its further prosecution. The original reliance of the Confederate Government for the expenses of the war they provoked, with a degree of folly equaled only by their wickedness—if, indeed, they condescended to take thought of a subject so entirely beneath the exalted sphere to which their childish passions had carried them—seems to have been upon the fact, that their country being the chief producer of cotton for the great manufacturing and commercial nations of Western Europe, the cotton and those nations, working together in some unknown manner, would either produce as much money as might be wanted, or would give victory to the insurrection before any money would be wanted beyond what they could plunder from the sub-treasuries, custom houses, and post offices of the United States, and rob from all non-resident creditors and claimants of property by indiscriminate confiscation. Of course, every sensible and honest man knew before-hand, that theories and practices of this sort must produce—what all saw them speedily produce—very little money, still less chance of success, and very great disappointment and infamy. They then laid an *export* duty on cotton; although one pretext of the insurrection was to get rid of an *import* duty on fabrics of cotton; and although the surest result of the war was the blockade of their ports. They then undertook to rob every cotton planter of one half of his cotton, under pretext of purchase at a fixed rate to be paid in some sort of Confederate State credit; the whole to be held at the risk of the planter, till the government could sell the whole and pay the planter for the half left to him—at what rate we do not certainly know, but probably at the original rate, leaving the government all the advance. One small, and apparently unforeseen difficulty—namely, the blockade of their ports—defeated, in a great degree, this enormous scheme of plunder; and, in the end, it is probable that far the greater part of the cotton was burned by order of the Confederate Government, while the culture of it, except for family use, has been prohibited by law. After this

followed a system of taxation in kind, by which the government took for its own use one tenth part of the chief productions of the earth; and a system of sumptuary laws forbidding traffic by any medium of value but Confederate scrip, and fixing the value of the necessities of life at a less price than the cost of producing them. To all this ruin we are to add a public debt, consisting, *first*, of a currency of many hundreds of millions, worth now about six cents to the dollar; *secondly*, of many hundreds of millions more of Confederate Domestic Bonds; and, *thirdly*, of Foreign Bonds to an unknown extent, for the redemption of which the cotton (now probably burned), was pledged. We are not accurately informed concerning the product of the ordinary taxes; or whether, according to the interpretation of their new institutions, direct taxes are laid by the central government. It is known generally that an effort was made to get the States in their separate capacity to guarantee the payment of the public debt, and that the effort failed. Forced loans is the only expedient left. The utter hopelessness of the financial condition of the Confederate Government and country, which the foregoing facts reveal, is rendered permanent and irremediable, while the causes now at work continue to operate, by the universal destruction of every source of individual prosperity, and the constantly increasing extent and pressure of personal want. Since the beginning of the world, we seriously doubt if a region so large and so prosperous was ever more speedily reduced to such a condition; or whether the share of the Confederate rulers, in producing such misery and ruin by their utter want of sense, of knowledge, and of integrity, was ever exceeded by any rulers in this world.

The course of the Federal Government has been, in all financial respects, signally the reverse of that pursued by the insurgents; and the result thus far has been, to secure to the United States a position of great strength, from which she is ready to proceed to whatever work is required of her. It was, of course, seen at once, that the public credit would be obliged to be used to a degree, very nearly proportionate to the cost of the war. The financial problem, therefore, was to use this credit in such a manner, as to disturb in the least possible degree the ordinary finances of the country; to keep the credit itself as nearly as possible at par; to keep the interest on the part used

as low as possible, and to make the credit, if it should become very large, a desirable mode of permanent investment. The plan adopted was extremely simple; as all effective conceptions are sure to be. The Government undertook to supply the country with a paper currency—which, to the whole extent of it, was an exhibition of public credit, for which the Government paid no interest; and by making which a legal tender, it could be kept as nearly at par—if properly managed afterwards—as it was possible to keep any currency not immediately convertible into the precious metals. It added to the value of this currency, that it was always convertible—and has been converted to an enormous amount—into national bonds, the interest on which was payable in coin; thus making the currency, by a short circuit, produce to its holders interest in coin; and making its reissue, after it was paid in for bonds, safely keep up the volume of public credit, that bore no interest. The coin to pay the interest on the bonds was to be raised from the foreign commerce of the country, the duties on imposts being made payable in coin; and the whole paper currency was made finally redeemable in coin. In the mean time, internal taxes—payable in legal tender notes—were laid upon principles which generally commend themselves to those most competent to judge. We are not possessed of the means of approximating the annual average product either of the taxes, or the imposts during the war. Suppose them to produce, year by year, one hundred millions from the taxes, and sixty millions from the imposts; and the cost of the war each year to be five hundred millions; the result of five years' war would be a public expenditure, of which the taxes having paid a hundred millions a year, and the imposts having paid the larger part of the interest in arrears; there would remain about two thousand millions, as a public debt; of which about five hundred millions would be in national currency, bearing no interest. To pay this debt (which would be about half as large as that of Great Britain), the United States, besides all its other resources, own public lands, altogether sufficient to do so; if Congress could be induced to take some care of that enormous national domain, instead of frittering it away on

some doubtful and many useless projects, and scandalous jobs, as it has done of late years.

We have made no allusion to the National Bank System, lately established on the basis of the national bonds; nor to certain financial operations of the Treasury Department, which seem to have been temporary. The currency to be issued by these national banks, is a national currency; though, as we understand, it is not a legal tender. As it is represented by an amount of national bonds, ten per cent greater than itself, deposited by the banks in the National Treasury, and upon which the banks receive interest; it would appear that the scheme might be beneficial to the national credit, by keeping up the price of bonds, and taking a large amount of them out of the market; and beneficial to the new banks, by their receiving interest on the bonds they deposit, and banking on the notes they receive in lieu of the bonds, and in other ways. The notes having the guaranty of the nation, must be ultimately good, and the nation apparently safe, as it holds its own bonds deposited in place of the notes issued. This depends somewhat on the way in which the bonds came to be deposited; that is, whether they were purchased by other notes than the identical ones issued on them. As the old banks are taxed in their circulation, their deposits, their savings, and their dividends, all this must tend to their transfer into the new kind of bank, or to their winding up. In either event, the currency guaranteed by the United States would become the exclusive circulating paper of the country; and the result would be that the General Government would become the guarantor for the honest management of all banks of circulation, as well as for the whole paper they circulated. We confess we look with anxiety upon the probable working of the whole scheme. On the whole, we apprehend that the advantages proposed are too remote from the basis of all credit, coin; and that the national credit will not be benefitted by this appendage. Nor ought we to forget, for a moment, that any national system exclusively of credit, is liable to be attacked in every quarter (as for example, by the persistent speculation in gold), and is assailed incessantly, through every department of foreign commerce; while even if it were never assailed at

all, it requires extraordinary skill, prudence, and honesty to bring it safely through; especially in countries where the executive government is allowed as small latitude of discretion in times of financial trouble, as they are in all free countries. Every one can see that prices are everywhere adjusting themselves to the new state of things, which the war and our financial system have created. Every one would do well to bear in mind, that after the war is over, and our financial system restored to a pure metallic basis, there is to be another adjustment of prices, in the opposite direction. And, as all the money we are now spending in a manner so terribly lavish, has to be accounted for, some day, as cash, it is the part of a wise and honest government to coerce a rigid economy in every department of public expenditure; and to punish with exemplary severity, every willful departure from rectitude. The losses which have been sustained by the destruction of army supplies, in food, clothing, horses, mules, wagons, arms and ammunition—in a very great degree through the fault of military officers; and the cheats which have been put upon the government by the fraudulent execution of contracts, and the exorbitant charges made against it for every species of thing, probably already amount to a sum sufficient to pay the interest of the whole war debt, up to the present time. It is hard to say that a portion of the demoralization, proved by these statements, is not the product of the flood of currency which covers the country, and which has depreciated so seriously within a year. Nor does the eager and universal return to prompt payments, in all private transactions, at the moment that a universal system of public credit is initiated, leave any room to doubt, that the paper currency, national and bank, is already working the effects of excess in all directions.

One great element in the history, working, and final result of our national troubles, has been the unfriendly conduct of foreign nations, and especially of Great Britain and France. We have been obliged, therefore, to allude very frequently to this aspect of the case, and, not long since, devoted an entire article to it.* The view we then presented was, in substance,

* See Danville Review for June, 1863, pp. 217-254.

that those two great nations were acting in concert with reference to this country; that the government and the dominant class in both of them, desired the humiliation and partition of the United States; that both nations were doing all that could be done, consistently with preserving even an appearance of neutrality, to favor the insurgents, and that both would do whatever more was necessary, even to a war of conquest, to secure the object they desired, if they should believe they could do it without too great danger to themselves. We then endeavored to point out, in the state of European affairs existing at that time, many sources of danger to Great Britain and France, in case they should make any attempt, by open war, upon us; and to prove that the United States were in a position to do them full as much damage as they could do us, and that our real security for peace with them, lay in making them understand that this was really so, and that we were fully resolved, if they made it necessary, to risk every thing upon it. The lapse of the half year which has followed that publication, has confirmed us in the justice of the statements then made, as applicable to the state of things then existing. The rapid march of events has put a new aspect on many things, both in Europe and America. The posture of all the great European nations, is more distinct than it then was; and the great events which have occurred in America, have so lifted the clouds, that the same line of policy which prevented European statesmen from discerning the course of American affairs, might now prevent them from being blind. And yet our danger might be as great from too much trust of the foreigner to-day, as from too much distrust of ourselves six months ago. What we now propose is, accepting as true and just what we have heretofore said on this general subject, to illustrate the bearing of several striking recent occurrences, exterior to us, upon the immediate security of the United States, from armed intervention by foreign states; and upon our true course in making the best of the present respite from that danger.

The most menacing of these events to the United States, is the conquest of Mexico by the Emperor Louis Napoleon, and the erection, under his auspices, and in effect by his army, of an empire dependent on him, upon the ruins of the Mexi-

can Republic. The most obvious remark upon this proceeding—utterly atrocious in every aspect of it—is that it teaches every weak nation, that its liberty and independence are held at the sufferance of every strong one. This lesson comes with the greater emphasis, as it violates, thus far with impunity, that great sentiment of all modern civilized nations, upon which the peace of the world, and the security of all peoples, rest more firmly than upon any other foundation; namely, that all armed intervention of one nation with the internal affairs of another—especially all intervention for conquest—is so high a crime against human society, that every human being is interested in its summary punishment. It adds another shade to the enormity of the French proceedings against Mexico, that the great breach the emperor was committing, as a faithless tyrant, upon the most sacred rights of nations, was attended throughout by incessant breaches of personal honor and veracity as a man, perpetrated in every direction, and on all occasions. He solicited and secured, on false pretexts, the alliance of England and Spain, until the joint invasion by the three powers was made; and then he shook off England and Spain; leaving them no alternative but to fight him, or to withdraw their forces. He deceived the governments of England, Spain, and the United States, by the most flagrant untruths, continually reiterated, into the belief that he sought absolutely nothing in Mexico but the payment of certain debts; when he had already, in the very beginning, put the imperial crown of Mexico at the disposal of the Arch-duke Maximilian, of Austria. Nay, he had even earlier still, by the intrigues of Gen. Almonte and the Archbishop of Mexico, secured the adhesion of the church party in Mexico to his schemes of conquest, and the approval of them by the Pope; and the whole world now knows from his own dispatch to his general in Mexico—the present Marshal Forey—that the true object, as he avowed, for seizing and holding Mexico, was the protection of the Papal Latin race, against the encroachments of the Protestant Saxons of the United States. For our own part, we greatly doubt, whether he has told the truth a single time, amid his innumerable deceptions; or whether any statement ever made by him, affords any evidence of his real intentions.

We ventured in a former article, already referred to, to express the opinion that the true objects of his pursuit in Mexico, were cotton and the precious metals. We think his character—his past acts—and the interests of his empire, are the only guides we have to his future conduct; and we are so well satisfied with the truth of our first conjecture, that we will give expression to another. We think it is extremely probable that the French invasion of Mexico, was the result of an understanding with the Confederate Government; the Emperor being as badly deceived in the foundation of his projects, as he deceived all others in carrying them into execution. He was undoubtedly led to believe, that, by his aid, the Confederate States could be easily made independent; and then could be made doubly tributary to his mania for cotton and the precious metals, *first* by their surrendering Texas to him, as the price of their independence, and *secondly*, by interposing the immense territory of the new nation in alliance with him, between the United States, as they would remain, and his own American possessions. Our space does not allow us to develop the proofs on which this conjecture rests. We may, however, remind the reader, how perfectly such a plan accords with the necessities, both of the French and the insurgents, and with the temper and character of the rulers of both parties; and how perfectly the pretended indignation of the government at Richmond, and its ostentatious display, against some alleged intrigues of French consular agents in Virginia and Texas, and the protestations of insulted innocence on the part of the French, illustrate the characteristic and concerted perfidy of both governments.

The determined attitude of England and Spain, as soon as they discovered enough of the schemes of the French Emperor to see that they had been betrayed throughout, left him no alternative but to press, with more ostentation, the previously concerted trick and deceit about an imperial crown for the Arch-duke Maximilian; and to conceal more carefully, for the moment, his real designs. Wise and gallant men will hardly be satisfied, that England and Spain went far enough, in merely withdrawing from the French alliance in Mexico, when they saw that they had been perfidiously made accessory to the most

enormous crime, and that this had been brought about by unbounded and insulting bad faith and profligate deceit, upon a question which England and Spain professed to believe involved at once their honor,—the peace of Europe—and the interests of all States. No high-spirited man would allow a coarse and unscrupulous one to insult and betray him after this fashion, with impunity; and no just man would stop short of preventing the gross injury to others, which he had been thus seduced by unmitigated baseness, into making not only possible, but in a certain sense respectable. England and Spain owed it to themselves, they owed it to Mexico, they owed it to the common interests of mankind—when they saw it to be their duty to withdraw, as they did from the French alliance in Mexico, to place the people of that country, with respect to France, in as good a condition as they were in before the alliance had secured their invasion. That England did not do this—which every high impulse of the nation would have prompted—is a melancholy proof of the extent to which she has humiliated herself, rather than have an open rupture with France; and is, moreover, a new and striking illustration of the interest which every nation in the world has, in the rupture of these relations between England and France, by means of which every part of the earth is successively disturbed and endangered. We must not suppose, however, that England easily digests such treatment, or speedily forgets it. Of course, she now understands, if she never did before, that no faith whatever can be put in the Emperor of the French—either as a man, an ally, or a ruler; and, unless we greatly mistake, this lawless man will have to get out of this Mexican adventure, without any sympathy or aid from England, and will not probably be allowed, without serious opposition from her, ultimately to make much more out of it, than he solemnly assured her he designed.

So far as the United States are concerned, our rapid conquest of the rebels opened the eyes of the emperor, and forced him to pause, or take the whole burden of their war. He had deceived our cabinet as completely as he had those of England and Spain; still, however, there could be no delusion, after the withdrawal of the English and Spanish from the French alliance in Mexico. Our existence was at stake, and the time for us to strike was come. Aid to the amount of forty or fifty millions to the

Mexican government at that moment, and a column of fifty thousand American volunteers, sent pretty nearly by the old routes of Gen. Taylor and Col. Doniphan; or even a distinct declaration to the French Emperor that he could not occupy Mexico, except upon the terms which he had just forfeited to England and Spain, would, as it appears to us, have been the course which, above all others, the interests of the United States required us to adopt. We think the French Emperor expected it, and that it would have been crowned with complete success. It would have led to a much earlier and more effectual conquest of our Southern insurgents, and would have cut short the entire project of the French in America; projects which, in that case and at that time, France could not longer have attempted to execute, without the imminent risk of being overwhelmed in a European war. Moreover, it would have put the United States, at once, at the head of a confederacy of American republics which would have given her and all the rest invincible strength, and isolated completely, and for all time, our insurgent States. It is possible such a course might have led to immediate war with France. But it is certain the success of France, unopposed by us, would have already led to war with her but for circumstances, with many of which our diplomacy could have had no connexion; as, for example, the unexpected resistance offered by the Mexicans, the remarkable success of our own military operations, the sudden exhaustion exhibited by our insurgents, the menacing position assumed by Russia, in repelling the insolence of France, and the coldness both of England and Austria in supporting the pretensions of France, both in Europe and America. We have allowed France to conquer Mexico, to send there a veteran army of fifty thousand Frenchmen, and to fill the Mexican waters with French ships-of-war. What can all that mean but war? And who can point out any way by which we can avoid war, if the French Emperor is resolved to pursue the projects he has avowed, those much more serious his conduct indicates, or those he has commenced executing? Or can any one suggest any important circumstance which could be added to the situation we have quietly allowed to come to its present pass, so as to put us, in case of war with France, in a condition much more disadvantageous than the one we actually occupy? It is understood that the Minister of the United States in Mexico does not

recognize the government set up by the French army, and it is known that the President of the United States has lately recognized a minister to this country from the old Juarez government. It is no doubt certain that negotiations have been on foot, by which the French Emperor proposed to make his provisional government in Mexico recognize the independence of our Confederate Government as soon as it had recognized his in Mexico. In the mean time the Juarez government keeps the field, and the Mexican people will, to a certain extent, and perhaps to the whole extent of the liberal party, support it and fight for it; without avail, we should suppose, except so far as to keep up protracted bloodshed. In Europe, the farce with the Arch duke Maximilian awaits the popular vote for him in Mexico, which the French will, of course, return in a manner intended to be satisfactory to him; and awaits in Europe, loans of money, and guaranties of the stability of his new throne, both of which he will get, or fail to get, according as Louis Napoleon shall happen to think, at the time, is best for his own ultimate designs. Amidst all these elements of apparent confusion, the French Emperor takes, or appears to take, two apparently decided steps towards peace with the United States. He promptly stops, or appears to stop, the building of war vessels for our insurgents; and he refuses, or pretends to refuse, any change whatever in what he calls his settled policy of neutrality, and non-recognition of our rebels as any thing more than belligerents. What, then, is the sense of all this? As regards Louis Napoleon, this: that his great power, and total want of principle, make him the most dangerous man in the world. As regards ourselves, this: that, having let slip the golden opportunity to save Mexico, foil Louis Napoleon, and acquire for ourselves a position of vastly increased strength, what is left to us is, to convince the Emperor it exceeds his power to make our rebels a nation; to be ready to fight him, to the last extremity, whenever it may suit him to require us to do so, on that quarrel; and to use the innumerable opportunities of diplomacy, and the vehement march of events over all the world, in a manner so skillful, that he will find no opportunity of attacking us without greater danger to himself than to us. Mean time, the quicker we subdue our own insurgents, the more readily will the Emperor of the French keep the peace with us. Of course he can not get any cotton land or

gold land from us. Of course, in the long run, the French can not hold Mexico permanently; nor can any one, much less any European royal family reign long there. The Emperor of the French has committed a mistake in invading Mexico, which he may so manage as to make it fatal. It was a just retribution, that he who habitually deceives others, should have been deceived by the American rebels, into a scheme vast enough to endanger his throne, and destitute of any fair prospect of permanent advantage. It is a humiliation to us, that God had not given us wisdom to use the great occasion, as was fit. But in another way it may work out immense results, many of which may be turned to our great advantage.

Events of an unexpected character have also occurred in Great Britain, which indicate a considerable change in the temper of the Government towards the United States; and the malignant condition of popular opinion there, towards the American people, which has been so marked and so insulting, seems to be giving place to a new and increasing impulse, favorable to us. It is extremely difficult to tell, how much reliance is to be placed on such appearances, either as to the real purposes of the Government, or the ruling sentiments of the people of Great Britain; nor is it easy to conjecture, before hand, to what acts those purposes and sentiments may lead—nor what may be the importance of those acts to us, after they are performed. We have received deep wrong from the English government—have endured boundless indignities from the English press and people. The first act of that powerful nation was in the nature of a hostile warning. Availing herself of an insurrection among our people, she suddenly changed her position from that of a friendly power, to that of a neutral between us and the insurgent population of our Southern States; and in order to make that hostile change, reduced the American nation to the same level with its rebellious citizens, calling both *belligerents*. From that moment, the attitude of England, and the whole aspect of her policy, has been a perpetual menace to the United States—a perpetual trouble and obstruction to us. And during all the time, the English government, keeping just short of war with us, and of such acts as would oblige the American government to declare war upon her; has connived at every species of hostile

conduct towards us, on the part of British subjects of all grades and employments; producing, in effect, a state of things nearly as advantageous to the insurgents as the acknowledgment of their independence would have been, and hardly as desirable for us as a state of actual war would have been. It is not too much to say, that but for the course of England, the insurgents would have been put down with one-half of the cost and bloodshed that have already taken place; and no one in America doubts that England would have secured the triumph of the insurgents if she could have done so by the policy she first adopted, or even by open war, the successful and advantageous termination of which was reasonably certain. But the vast strength exhibited by the United States, their invincible determination to put down the insurrection, the steady success of their arms, and the increasing vigor of their diplomacy, were sufficient to satisfy England—and, we suppose, did satisfy her—that no aid she could give the rebels, short of actual war, would secure their success, and that there was extreme doubt whether a third war waged by her against the United States, would be more successful or advantageous to her than the other two had been. There were, no doubt, other considerations, of the very highest importance, of which we will speak presently, which may have had even preponderating weight with English statesmen, showing that the friendship of the United States might become far more important to England, than the humiliation or even the destruction of the great Republic. In the meantime, it was impossible to restrain the hostile and constantly aggressive nature of what England called her *neutrality*, within bounds that the United States would endure, or that England could permit to be transgressed, without making precedents which England, as the first maritime nation in the world, would find more hurtful to herself than to any other nation. It came simply and clearly to be decided, whether England would permit hostile expeditions against the United States, in favor of the Confederate States, to be fitted out in her ports and harbors; and whether, if she persisted in allowing this direct act of war against us, our government would hold her to the consequences and commence war against her. The public are not in possession of the correspondence between the two governments on the subject. It would ap-

pear, however, that the British Government was at first and for some time inclined to evade the issue, to extenuate the conduct of her subjects, and to give small satisfaction to the American Government. Finally, however, that Government met the matter with energy, seized certain vessels of war when they were nearly ready to sail, professed its conviction that the matters alleged were violations of British neutrality, and avowed its purpose to prevent them. Besides this, Lord Russell and the Attorney-General, in public speeches apparently made for the purpose, and apparently also speaking in the name of the Government, avowed the principle that the recognition of the independence of a new nation was not a means to an end, but the recognition of an existing fact; acknowledged that no such fact existed in the case of the Confederate States, and declared that England would never recognize that the fact existed while it did not exist. Undoubtedly these are events of great importance; undoubtedly, if the British Government has avowed itself candidly, holding back no sinister purpose, the relations between it and the Government of the United States occupy a more satisfactory basis, than anything in the events of the two preceding years would have allowed us to anticipate. From our point of view it is tantamount to a radical change of the British view of British interests, as connected with the issues of the civil war in America; and indicates very plainly the possibility of considerable changes in the future attitude of England, on many questions of very great importance. At the very least it gives us additional time in which, without serious disturbance from abroad, we may subdue the insurgents and be better prepared for whatever the future may bring forth.

The British Government would probably insist, that no motive existed for the part it acted in the matter just explained, except the desire to do what was proper in the circumstances. They, however, who have not found purity and honor the constant rule of conduct with all human governments, are apt to feel somewhat more assured, when they can discover in the circumstances attending even the most commendable public acts, substantial worldly reasons for them. We are the more content with the recent conduct of Great Britain, when we can well persuade ourselves, that something in the actual position of the American *belligerents*, and something in the violent probab-

ities of the sort of end to which the American war seems rapidly tending, and something in the threatening aspect of the possible war between Great Britain and the United States; may have been a part of those *circumstances*, under which it was proper to do the right and just thing, that was done. We admit, further, that it would add to our content, if we could feel assured, that other *circumstances* in which that right doing was not only proper, but eminently wise, stand very closely connected, on one side with the cordial understanding, if we may not call it an alliance, between France and England, which is a standing menace to all nations; and on another side, with the disturbed and threatening condition of so many vast European interests; and on another side still, with many great principles of public European law, and with many great rules of national and even human rights, in support of which Britain has been privy to the shedding of so much blood, and in vindicating which she may soon be called to shed her own once more. Yea, greatly content would we be, to be allowed to believe that England has changed her thought, and would like to stand closer by America, when the storm which all thoughtful men see rising over Europe, shall burst! Nor would it take any thing from our confidence that England will adhere to the line of conduct towards America, which appears to us to be new, even if we could be assured that the personal treatment of her by the Emperor of the French, in the Mexican invasion, rankled in her proud heart, when she determined not to fight us for the privilege of sending out hostile expeditions from neutral ports against friendly nations. Nay, if we did but know that she would apply to this Mexican outrage of Louis Napoleon, her cherished doctrine of national freedom, and non-intervention; and would apply to this great public deceiver, and pitiless usurper, any test by which any English gentleman would regulate his conduct towards any perfectly faithless, and utterly flagitious disturber of private life; we should feel much better satisfied, that the future conduct of England towards the United States, will be such as we can safely or properly endure. We can not, at the least, avoid the hope, that the existing state of affairs both in Europe and America, and the terrible shadow thrown across the cordial understanding between France and England, by the shocking and dangerous disclosure of himself, made by the Emperor of the French, in

his Mexican expedition; have given England considerable light upon many pending questions, relating to the rights and duties of belligerents and of neutrals.

Under these circumstances, we hope England will have no difficulty in satisfying the United States, with regard to the fitting out of hostile expeditions against us from Canada, the first of which, upon a considerable scale, has exploded prematurely, since we commenced the preparation of this article. We do not see it to be at all surprising, that they who were habitually allowed to use the whole of Great Britain, to furnish themselves in every way, with every thing contraband of war, even to the extent of fitting and sending out hostile expeditions against us; and who have been protected,—we should rather say caressed,—in the use of British Islands situate at our very doors, as entrepôts to which contraband goods were brought in British ships, to be smuggled into our blockaded ports in other British built and British owned ships; should not hesitate to use the British ports and possessions along our northern frontier, just as they used the rest of the British ports and possessions, to carry on war against the United States.

We do, however, see much that is astonishing in the want of foresight, on the part of our Government, in making these British possessions, adjacent to us, a place of forcible, or even discretionary, exile for great multitudes of our traitors; and not less, in the quiet unconcern with which tens of thousands of them were allowed to flock there, at their own discretion, without the remotest idea, apparently, on the part of our Government, of any danger, or the slightest attempt to discover any that might be hatched, and provide against it. As far as appears, the Confederate Government organized a military expedition, by sea and through the Canadas, to assist a much more powerful one organized in Canada West—the object of the whole being to operate piratically from the Canadian shore of Lake Erie, against the vast American commerce on that lake, the American islands in its southern waters—one of which was occupied by several thousand prisoners of war—and the American cities on its shores, many of which are among the richest and most prosperous cities on the American Continent. It seems that our Government received the first

knowledge of this audacious expedition, on the very eve of its setting forth from Canada West, from the British Minister at Washington, who was informed of it by the British Mayor of Montreal. The deliberate violations of the laws and the neutrality of Great Britain in this flagrant manner—*first*, by the Confederate Government; and, *secondly*, by the American exiles and refugees in Canada; and, *thirdly*, probably, by Canadian sharers in the villainy—are offenses against Great Britain herself, in the first instance, which she might deal with, as for her own satisfaction, as she pleased. But, in the second instance, they concern so intimately the peace and security of the United States, that if, upon the requisition of our Government, Great Britain neglects to deal with them, to our reasonable satisfaction, she thereby becomes responsible for them herself, and we will, if we see fit, take redress into our own hands. Our existing treaties with Great Britain forbid us, it is said, to keep an adequate armed force in commission on Lake Erie; which, if it be true, additionally obliges the Governments of both Canada and Great Britain to prevent effectually any more disturbance from Canada. The whole case is, in principle, just the same as the one lately come to a head, concerning rebel vessels of war in England, which we have already explained—only this Canadian case is on a much larger scale, is more clearly a violation of British territory, and is more immediately dangerous to us. We need say no more about it in its present stage, than that if Great Britain does not keep Canada from being either a way or a means of disturbing us, other ways of doing it would be very speedily found. If the American refugees in Canada West have not lost all sense, they will probably understand that they have already done enough, to make another and early change of residence prudent.

We have already said that the sudden recognition of the insurgents, as belligerents, by Great Britain and France (which both have failed to do, as yet, for the Polish insurgents) was an unfriendly act. From that moment, the United States had everything to apprehend from both of those nations. And to the present time—except the recent seizure, in both of them, of the rebel ships of war, and the recent

declaration, on the part of both of them, that the rebels could obtain from them no present recognition of independence—nothing has occurred, so far as the public knows, that justifies us in expecting, with confidence, from those nations, more than they believe it would be perilous for them to withhold. We have discussed, as fully as our limits would permit, both of those acts on the part of both of those nations. But there is another of the great nations of Europe—Russia—between whom and the United States, no relations, except the most friendly, have ever existed; whose friendship has been openly avowed during all our recent difficulties; and whose present attitude, with reference to the other great powers of Europe, especially toward France, has hitherto tended much to our advantage, in an indirect manner, and now operates to secure to us further time to bring our domestic war to a successful close. It is certain, we suppose, that the French conquest of Mexico would not have occurred, but for the preceding insurrection in the United States; and it is, we suppose, nearly as certain that France and England would have attempted to coerce the partition of the United States, but for the premature explosion of the Polish revolt, which, there is no doubt, was concerted in France; and the defiant attitude of the Emperor Alexander toward Austria, England, and especially France, with reference to it. It is marvelous to reflect on the boundless faith in human credulity, and the fathomless hypocrisy of tyrants, when one hears the Emperor of the French *talk* about Polish independence, and the sanctity of promises, and sees him *act* in the Mexican invasion! As for us, if we have been put to loss and danger, by means of certain European movements on one side, we have also derived great advantages from other European movements in another direction. And as for the great doctrine of non-intervention, upon which the independence of nations rests, if it has been trodden under foot in Mexico, as a consequence of the alliance of England, France, and Spain, and the combined perfidy and violence of the Emperor of the French; on the other hand it has found the Emperor of Russia repelling the attempts of France, England, and Austria, in the case of Poland, to the verge of a European war; and the United States ready to

stake its existence, in its support, against the combined power of France, England, and the American insurgents. It is striking to observe that all the time it is France and England combined, and then follows trouble: sometimes with Austria, sometimes with Spain, sometimes with Sardinia and Turkey, sometimes those two only — but always France and England, and always aggression, menace, and peril to nations, when they unite. No combination of nations of the second class is able to oppose them successfully. It is a high instinct of safety, as well as the result of supreme statesmanship, that in the present state of the world, this vast combination in the center, can be kept in check by only the mutual coöperation of the great powers on its flanks. As long as England will combine with France to menace and rob nations, she will see that she more and more consolidates the good understanding between America and Russia. The working of this problem has commenced under the misdoings of England. The immediate solution of it would be, for England to get rid of her French mania and terror, and conciliate the United States. If wrought out as France has started it, its solution belongs to posterity.

To a certain extent both England and Austria are understood to have drawn back from the lead of France, on the Polish question; just as England and Spain drew back from the lead of France, on the Mexican question. That is, neither Austria nor England will commit herself to anything, the eventuality of which means war, on that question. It is also understood to be the avowed conviction of the Emperor of the French, that nothing but a European Congress, can prevent a general war in Europe, connected with that question. And he is thought to be acting on that conviction. But it is very obvious, that nothing but the independence of all Poland, as she stood before the first partition of 1772,—or the total absorption of Polish nationality, can give permanent relief from Polish agitation. The latter is well nigh, if not utterly, impossible in itself. The former is hopelessly impossible, as a sacrifice to be expected from Russia, or any other great nation; just as much so, as the restored independence of Ireland, by the consent of England. Indeed, more so, for by that means, Russia, at present the greatest power in

Europe, would be virtually shut out of the pale of European powers, and become essentially an Asiatic nation. And this contemplated European Congress under the lead of the Emperor Napoleon, finding the Emperor Alexander thoroughly intractable as to the interpretations put by the other great powers, upon the treaty of Vienna, which contains the only European recognition of any title in Russia, to any part of Poland; could only break up as a failure, or by another European act, cancel the former recognition of the Russian title, and begin a war that would probably last a century. The grand folly has been, for Europe to attempt to preserve the nationality of the Poles, without preserving the independence of Poland. We see before us the issue of such an experiment, after ninety years of inconceivable crime and misery. And now the Emperor Alexander, with his title of original conquest, and ninety years of holding, and European recognition when Europe had destroyed the first Napoleon; is hardly likely to be very seriously alarmed for his title, by the menaces of the Napoleon now reigning. The best commentary on his intentions, yet made public, is probably his fleet wintering on our coast, to avoid being frozen up in the Baltic during this critical winter. Now it is impossible for us to enter here into the merits of those vast questions. If we have succeeded in suggesting to our readers, in this, as in the preceding cases, some chief grounds of our convictions, or our conjectures; we have done all we could expect towards explaining our hope, that America, in her great trouble, is to be helped by the troubles both of her European friends and enemies. The state of Europe, produced by the Polish revolution, does not appear to us, to leave either France or England in a position, *just now*, to risk war with the United States, in aid of our insurgents; nor does the position of Russia allow her, to consent willingly to the destruction of the United States, in case that attempt is made. We reiterate, therefore, let us seize the respite, and subdue the insurgents.

It has not occurred, in the course of this paper, to speak separately of the great military operations, on land, much less to criticise any particular portion of them; nor to make separate mention of our powerful and rapidly increasing navy, nor of the enormous and constantly recurring injuries inflicted on our commerce by piratical vessels, built, fitted out, and virtually

owned in England, and roaming the high seas under a flag recognized as national, by no nation in the world. Of the increase of our marine force, some idea may be formed, from the single fact that the fleet on the Mississippi and its tributaries, is said to have increased, within two years, from three vessels and about five hundred men, to a hundred vessels and many thousand men. We can not prolong this article, however, by entering now upon additional questions, of such extent and importance. Nor is it gracious, or quite appropriate, to close it with expressions of regret and disappointment. We have made it plain, we think, that an immense work has been done, and that the nation is able and resolved to finish it. We could make it quite as plain, we suppose, that the nation is restless at the delay, which it justly apprehends is not to be accounted for, by any shortcoming on its part, or any thing in the nature or extent of the work itself, when compared with the enormous force, preparation, and expense lavished on it. No degree of skill, courage or activity on the part of the insurgents, ought to exceed that on our own part; and certainly if that be so, the long delay in subduing them on land, and sweeping their half dozen pirates from the high seas, has already reached the utmost limit that is creditable to the Government, or safe to those it has entrusted with the means of commanding success. The inquest of the Republic will be fierce, as well as terrible, when wearied with the exhortation, *Let us subdue the insurgents*,—it suddenly lifts up the stern cry, *Why have we not subdued the insurgents?* To betray, to stultify, to trifle, to seduce, to deceive, a great nation to dishonor and shame, are crimes never forgiven.

ART. VII.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church. Part I. Abraham to Samuel. By ARTHUR PENRYN STANLEY, D. D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. With Maps and Plans. New York: Charles Scribner, 124 Grand Street. 1863.

DR. STANLEY has produced a work which combines uncommon excellences with marked defects. He is an accomplished historical scholar, has enjoyed the advantages of oriental travel, and possesses an imaginative and constructive mind: hence the excellences of these Lectures. He is, if so much may be said without offense, latitudinarian, or Broad Church, in his theology: hence their defects.

The celebrated French scholar, M. Renan, says of a visit which he made to Palestine: "The striking accords of the texts and the places, the marvelous harmony of the Gospel ideal with the country which served for its frame, were to me like a revelation. I had before my eyes a fifth Gospel, torn, but still legible, so that thence forward, through the medium of the narratives of Matthew and Mark, I have seen, instead of an abstract being, such as one would say never existed, a noble human figure, living and moving." The Holy Land made similar impressions on Dr. Stanley in relation to Old Testament history, and these impressions he has reproduced on his pages with a master's hand. The richest information, a true poetical genius, the widest sympathy with the past, and a power of vivid word-painting, contribute to the general effect. No other book, in the language, gives such reality to the scenes of sacred history, to the very persons and habits of its principal characters, to actual life in Egypt, in the wilderness and in the land of Canaan. The whole story, under his treatment, acquires the body and solidity of a real present experience.

M. Renan returned from Palestine to prepare a Life of Christ, in which the Master is represented as the grandest human being that ever appeared on earth, and nothing more; not divine, not superhuman, "either in mission or endowments." Dr. Stanley has not reached analogous conclusions respecting the Old Testament history; on the contrary, he accepts these scriptures as holding, within their compass, supernatural revelation, and concedes to Abraham, at least, the possession of a supernatural call. But he reduces both inspiration and the natural, too often, to their lowest terms. For example, he rejects the doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Old Testament. "There may be," he says, "errors in chronology,—exaggerations in numbers—contradictions be-

tween the different narratives. These may compel us to relinquish one or other of the numerous hypotheses which have been formed respecting the composition or the inspiration of the Old Testament. But as they would not destroy the value of other history, so they need not destroy the value of this history, because it relates to sacred subjects; or prevent us from making the very most of those portions of it which are undeniably historical;" etc. (*Introd.* xl.) Again, in a note, at the end of the volume, he says that the arithmetical errors which have been pointed out in the narrative of the Old Testament "are unquestionably inconsistent with the popular hypothesis of the uniform and undeviating accuracy of the Biblical History." He then gravely proposes a critical procedure, by which the "incredibility of one part of the narrative" of the exodus "becomes a direct argument in favor of the probability of the rest;" and suggests still further that we should extend to different parts of the Old Testament "the same laws of criticism which we apply to other histories, especially to Oriental histories." When it is remembered how large the allowance which must be made for the exaggerations and extravagances of "Oriental history" the rule is seen to be "broad" enough for Colenso, or even Ewald himself.

After the same example (*sit venia verbo*) of unbelief, he deals with the miracles of the Pentateuch: reducing them to the minimum. In treating of the ten plagues inflicted on Egypt, he speaks vaguely of the "proportion in which the natural and supernatural are mingled" (p. 131); and describes them as "the interventions of a Power above the power of man" (p. 132). But it is hard to tell whether he regards them as *miracula* or as *mirabilia* only; as true miracles or as remarkable interpositions of the Almighty, in the way of an overruling Providence. Whether, again, 600,000 armed men, according to Moses, or 600 armed men, according to Laborde, left Egypt, Dr. Stanley leaves "to the critical analysis of the text and the probabilities of the case." (p. 137.) He is equally cautious in committing himself on the question of the miraculous, in the passage of the Red Sea. It is one of those occasions on which "deliverance is brought about not by any human energy, but by causes beyond our own control. Such in Christian history, are the raising of the siege of Leyden and the overthrow of the Armada, and such above all was the passage of the Red Sea." (p. 145.) In the chapter on Israel in the Wilderness, he makes no mention of the Pillar of Cloud and of Fire, and so escapes the problem of the supernatural contained in that phenomenon. "In respect of the support of Israel in the wilderness, he observes that "we can not repudiate altogether the intervention of a Providence strange, unexpected and impressive in the highest degree, unless we are prepared to reject the whole story of the stay in the wilderness." (p. 161.) If the

author had qualified the word "Providence" with either of the adjectives "supernatural" or "miraculous" his statement would have lodged satisfaction, instead of doubt, as to his real sentiments, in the minds of some of his most thoughtful readers. In the graphic description which is given at pp. 256, 257, of the passage of the Jordan, the supernatural features of the transaction are fairly reproduced. But the author expresses with unusual confidence, the opinion that the arrest of the sun and moon, at the word of Joshua (x: 12) is to be taken in the popular and poetical sense, according to the "unanimous opinion of all German theologians of whatever school;" just as the expression "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera" is commonly understood. (p. 276, note.)

Nor is Dr. Stanley's treatment of Prophecy satisfactory. He divides the prophetic teaching into three parts, according to the three famous words of Bernard:—*Respice, Aspice, Prospice*; showing that the prophets were interpreters of the Divine Will respecting the past, the present and the future. The first two of these parts are well handled, but the third, or predictive character of the prophet, is dwarfed into narrow dimensions. He states that "the Hebrew prophets made predictions concerning the fortunes of their own and other countries, which were unquestionably fulfilled. There can be no reasonable doubt, for example, that Amos foretold the captivity and return of Israel; and Michael the fall of Samaria; and Ezekiel the fall of Jerusalem; and Isaiah the fall of Tyre; and Jeremiah the limits of the captivity." (p. 517.) The exception to which this catalogue of fulfilled prophecies is liable is this:—it does not recognize several of the same class which are, perhaps, more striking than any here mentioned; as, for example, the prediction of Moses respecting the dispersion of the Jews, the predictions respecting Egypt, Moab, Babylon, etc. Dr. Stanley, on another page, introduces the Messianic prophecies; but the reader is left in wonder how an accomplished scholar, a preacher of the gospel and a man of genius, could make so little out of the very grandest themes of the Old Testament Scriptures.

There is very little theology, or profound religious philosophy, in these Lectures. As notable instances of a failure to apprehend the primal laws according to which sacred history unfolds the divine idea, it may be mentioned, briefly, that although Dr. S. treats professedly of the Jewish Church, irrespective of the Jewish State, he does not trace the development, through the ages, of the plan of salvation; and he sinks the covenants nearly out of sight. He contemplates the covenant of circumcision with the eye of a poet, and makes no mention whatever of the covenant at Sinai. How can the history of the Jewish Church be explicated in neglect of its fundamental laws and constitutions?

Considered as a mere work of the historical art, the Lectures on the Judges are defective. They represent the period to have been one of commotion, incessant wars and anarchy; and a close analogy is taken between the Jewish Church in the period of the Judges, and the Christian Church in the middle ages. (pp. 343, 347.) This is no doubt the common impression, but it is incorrect. There were many wars, but then there were long intervals of peace. At three different times "the land had rest forty years." (Judges iii: 11, v: 31, viii: 28.) After the war with Moab the "land had rest eighty years" (iii: 30.) From Joshua to Samuel, four hundred and fifty years, only one hundred and fourteen years were disturbed by the heathen invasions. Again, these disturbances rarely affected, simultaneously, the entire country. The northern, or the eastern, or the western tribes, as the case might be, were invaded while the others were at peace; somewhat after the analogy of our own Indian wars. The great Philistine war, for example, under the regencies of Sampson and Samuel, raged among the western tribes; the war, during the regency of Jephthah, was confined to the region beyond the Jordan; and during the regency of Deborah a great battle was fought at Esdradon while "the bleatings of the flocks" were heard in Reuben. History usually devotes large spaces to wars, and dispatches with few words the many intervening years of peace; just as a description of the ocean deals more with its days of storm and shipwreck than its long, tranquil summers. Moreover, it was the plan of this part of sacred history to exhibit the sins of the people; their punishment by the instrumentality of the heathen, and their deliverance by the power of God. The troubles of the period are therefore made particularly prominent.

The volume, as a product of the arts of printing and binding, is nearly perfect. The paper, type, and general appearance of the book reflect the highest credit on the skill and taste of its enterprising publisher, Mr. Charles Scribner.

E. P. H.

The Presbyterian Historical Almanac and Annual Remembrancer of the Church for 1863. By JOSEPH M. WILSON. Volume V. Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, No. 111 South Tenth street, below Chestnut street. 1863.

THIS Annual has now passed, it may be supposed, beyond the experimental stage, and become an established work—at least so long as Mr. Wilson's ability to issue it continues, for it is evidently a labor of love with him. And when he is laid aside, it is to be hoped some equally competent hand will take his place.

The present number is a stout octavo volume of five hundred pages of closely printed matter, requiring a vast amount of labor in its preparation. It contains not only quite a full account, with a few exceptions, of the acts, deliverances, and operations, for the past year, of the highest judicatories of the Presbyterian churches of the United States, Scotland, and British America, including the General Synod of the Reformed Protestant Dutch church of this country; but many valuable statistical tables, and a large body of pertinent miscellaneous matter. Included in the latter are the histories of seven churches of the Presbyterian family and of the Princeton Theological Seminary, with Dr. Sprague's discourse at the semi-centennial jubilee appended to the last; biographical sketches of more than one hundred ministers and ruling elders, mostly the former; and a second carefully digested article on Mansees. There are also nineteen well-executed portraits of ministers more or less distinguished, five of whom remain unto this day, and several engravings of churches and institutions of learning. This statement, though by no means exhaustive of the contents of the volume, is enough to show that it is a store-house of interesting and valuable information. The work received, in 1862, the approbation of the General Assemblies of both branches of the Presbyterian church in the United States, of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian church, and of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian church; and we observe, in a late paper, that the Synod of Baltimore, at its recent sessions in the city of Washington, commended it "as every way worthy of consideration and support." If, then, its own merits and the authority of these venerable courts can not secure a sufficient patronage for its permanent support, it will be strange indeed. Looking, however, at the completeness of the proceedings of the other bodies, one is somewhat surprised at the meager record of the Established and Free churches of Scotland.

The Biographical Sketches, especially of those who have recently fallen asleep, will be read with a very tender interest. Almost every one who takes up the Almanac, will meet with an outline of the life and labors of some dear friend with whom he had often taken sweet counsel and gone to the house of God in company, and from whose lips he had heard the word of the truth of the Gospel. Some will find graven by art and man's device, the face of a beloved pastor, or of a brother in the ministry, and as they gaze on that face will live over again the seasons of joy and of sorrow which they shared with him who has preceded them but a little in the passage over Jordan. Happy ones! they rest from their labors and their works do follow them. How many the attractions that draw us toward the home of the good and blessed! and how they increase as time rolls onward! Many a one can say, more are my friends beyond the flood than they who remain behind! Of the

dead whose memory is embalmed in these pages, some were known of the church as far as the English tongue is spoken; a few attained an enviable fame among the learned and pious of almost all Christian nations; more passed lives of great usefulness, toil, and self-sacrifice, in comparative obscurity. Among the number appears the name of Robert Steel, D. D., the venerated pastor and friend of the youth of him who writes these lines. No more appropriate text could have been selected for his funeral sermon than the one that was selected: "*He was a good man and a just.*" Full of works of faith and labors of love, his life on earth most fitly and gently ended as with his expiring breath he whispered, putting his hand on his heart, "*I have a peace here that passeth all understanding.*" It is a rare thing now for a man to die, as he did, in the midst of the people of his only charge, after a pastorate of forty-three years. The remembrance of him is as a sweet ointment poured forth.

Our readers will find in this volume what is accessible probably to very few of them in any other quarter; we mean an account of the organization and of the proceedings for 1861 and 1862, of the body styling itself the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the Confederate States of America. It appears that fifty-five ministers and thirty-eight ruling elders, ninety-three in all, commissioned by their respective presbyteries to convene at Augusta, Ga., Dec. 4th, 1861, did there and then constitute the first General Assembly. Dr. McFarland was appointed to preside until a regular organization was effected. After the roll of commissioners had been reported, Dr. B. M. Palmer was elected moderator, and Drs. Turner and Waddell, temporary clerks. The second Assembly met at Montgomery, Alabama, on May 1st, 1862. Thirty-one ministers and sixteen elders, a grand total of forty-seven commissioners, were reported and enrolled. Dr. J. L. Kirkpatrick was elected moderator, and Dr. McBryde temporary clerk. The Rev. Joseph R. Wilson, D. D., is permanent clerk, and the Rev. John M. Waddell, D. D., stated clerk of the Assembly. The third meeting was required to be held on May 7th, 1863, at Columbia, S. C., "or wheresoever else the Moderator of this Assembly may authorize the Stated and Permanent Clerks to convene it." The alternative here presented is rather significant. We are not sure any Assembly met the current year; but if it did, and the reduction in the representation was as great as from 1861 to 1862, the convocation at Columbia, or *elsewhere*, was a rather small assemblage of venerables. Moreover, as the brethren of the Assembly of '62 "distinctly recognize the right of the State to claim the services of any or all her citizens in this time of her need," the uncertainty touching a meeting in May, '63, is increased. Our old friends and compeers who should have met as a General Assembly of the

Presbyterian church in the *C. S. A.*, may have been gathered unto "the assemblies of violent men," there doing battle valiantly under the leadership of Lee or Bragg. But wherever they were or are, we love them personally, though we think they committed a great wrong in dividing the church at the time and in the manner they did. S. Y.

Health: Its Friends and its Foes. By R. D. MUSSEY, M. D., LL. D., late Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, at Dartmouth College, N. H., and of Surgery in the Medical College of Ohio; Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, etc., etc. Boston, Gould & Lincoln.

Few men have a better right to be heard on the subject of health than the venerable author of this book. He is one of the most eminent physicians and surgeons in the country, and for thirty years, has been one of the most successful medical teachers in the East and the West. His health was feeble in his boyhood; having, as he says "inherited a dyspeptic stomach." Yet he has led a most laborious life, and now, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, has far more vigor, both of body and mind, than not a few men of fifty. He published this book in June, 1862, when he was 82 years old. Dr. Mussey is, and has been, for about thirty years, a vegetarian, eating neither meat nor fish, and drinking neither malt nor spirituous liquors, tea nor coffee. There will be a difference of opinion as to his views on those topics; but no reader will deny the cogency and modesty with which they are urged. Apart from these subjects, the book is filled with advice to valetudinarians drawn from the widest observation, great professional experience and a true philanthropy. The author has done a good service in delivering this book to the public; and it will add to many of those who read it profitably, comfortable health and length of days. E. P. H.

The Last Times and The Great Consummation: An Earnest Discussion of Momentous Themes. By JOSEPH A. SEISS, D. D., author of "The Gospel in Leviticus," "The Parable of the Ten Virgins," "The Day of the Lord," "Lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews," &c., &c. Revised and enlarged edition. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co., 23, North Sixth Street. New York: Blakeman & Mason. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. Cincinnati: Geo. S. Blanchard. London: Wertheim, McIntosh & Hunt. Toronto: W. C. Chewett & Co. 1863. pp. 442.

This book, as its title imports, is a "revised and enlarged edition" of a work which has been before the public several years, having passed

tinental Europe and the British Isles. It is conceded by his friends and his foes, that no man was more looked up to for advice, by the learned and the great, and no one man made a more powerful impression upon that age, than John Calvin. The notes of Dr. Bonnet, appended to many of the letters in the several volumes, increase the value and add to the great historical interest of the work. S.

Bible Illustrations: Being a Storehouse of Similes, Allegories, and Anecdotes, selected from Spencer's "Things New and Old," and other sources. With an Introduction by the REV. RICHARD NEWTON, D. D., and a copious Index. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Cincinnati: Geo. S. Blanchard. 1863. pp. 360.

This is a capital book for its purpose, which its title pretty fully indicates. The introduction and preface show that while it is designed for the general reader, it promises to be "of great service to Clergymen, to Sunday-School and Bible Class teachers, and to all whose occupation calls them to the important work of bringing God's truth to bear upon the minds of others." From a cursory examination, we think the body of the work sustains the promise here given, fully as well as some, and far better than some other works of a similar kind before the public.

Among the classes referred to as likely to receive benefit from the work, of course none can occupy a station of higher responsibility than ministers of the Gospel. It is no doubt a fault with many able preachers that their sermons are not sufficiently illustrative. Proper illustration is one of the most interesting and forcible methods of presenting truth to the minds of the masses of men, whether in colloquial or more formal discourse. While we have sometimes seen the illustrative method greatly overdone in the pulpit, in the peculiar kind as well as great number of anecdotes introduced, *ad nauseam*, on the other hand we have sometimes met with a ministerial prudery which would almost consider the pulpit incurably desecrated by the introduction of an anecdote into a sermon. Nothing is so well calculated to gain and rivet attention, the first aim of every public speaker, aside from earnestness and an evident sincerity in the truth and importance of what he is uttering as appropriate illustration. This is one of the secrets of the great power of a certain class of orators, on the stump, at the bar, and in the forum. They will sway the masses, convince juries, and frequently take captive legislative assemblies, where more learned, profound and able speakers will fail. The Scriptures are full of this method of teaching, in the Old Testament and the New. It was always our Saviour's style. Get the book and read it; and if you are a teacher, or a preacher, use it. S.

Theopneutia: The Bible, its Divine Origin and Inspiration, deduced from Internal Evidence, and the Testimonies of Nature, History and Science. By L. GAUSSEN, D. D., Professor of Systematic Theology, Oratoire, Geneva. New and revised edition, with Analysis and Topical Index. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard, 39, West Fourth Street. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859. pp. 365.

THIS work of Dr. Gaussen has been many years before the world. It was first introduced to the more special notice of the American public through a translation made by Dr. E. N. Kirk, of Boston. The present edition, brought out by the enterprising press of Mr. Blanchard, of Cincinnati, is a reprint of a Scotch edition, translated by Mr. David D. Scott, of Glasgow. It is executed with great mechanical neatness, and appears in every respect far superior to any other edition which has come from the American press. It is "from the latest French edition," and "has the advantage of all the author's improved arrangement."

We need not say a word in favor of this work. It is too well known to require it. And we are rejoiced to see it issued from one of our Western publishing houses, at a time when the inspiration and genuineness of the sacred books are more impugned by a crafty skepticism, from men of learning, and under a guise of special solicitude for the truth, than in almost any previous age. The method of treating the subject by Dr. Gaussen, adapts it equally to the general reader and to ministers and teachers.

S.

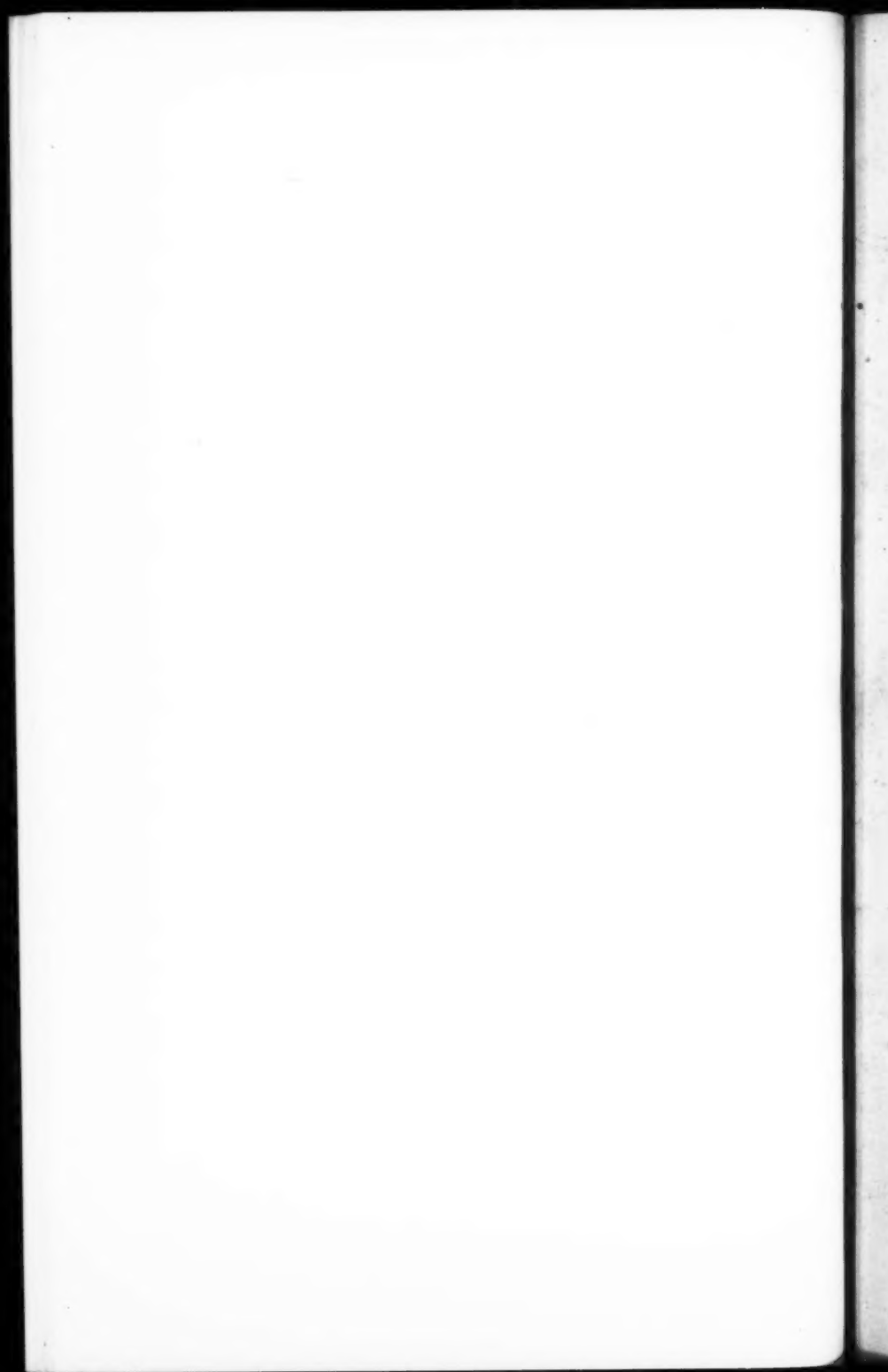
A Critical History of Free Thought in reference to the Christian Religion: Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford, in the year 1862, on the foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M. A. Canon of Salisbury. By ADAM STOREY FARRAR, M. A., Michel Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 443 and 445 Broadway. 1863. pp. 533.

THIS is one of those works of great learning and research which will attract the attention of scholars, recently issued upon the Bampton foundation, which has hitherto afforded many valuable contributions to the Apologetics of Christianity. It deserves a more careful examination than we have yet given it. It is sufficient now to say that it is timely, meeting the present phases of modern infidelity and scepticism, philosophically and historically considered, and opposing to them the truth as the learned author views it.

S.

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